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HISTORY
or
Napoleon Bonaparte,
AND
WARS OF EUROPE,
FROM THE
REVOLUTION IN FRANCE
TO THE
TERMINATION OF THE LATE WARS.

INCLUDING ANECDOTES
OF THE MOST
CELEBRATED CHARACTERS,
That have appeared during and since the Revolution
IN THREE VOLUMES.

By W. B. HEWESTON, Esq.

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THE
HISTORY
OF
NAPOLEON BONAPARTE,
AND
WARS OF EUROPE.

CHAPTER I.

IN our preceding volumes we intimated the doubts that were entertained of the arrival of the army sent to Spain, under the command of Sir John Moore. It is not part of our purpose to investigate the circumstances of sending a British army into the heart of Spain, to act in the plains of Leon and Castile; or whether the Marquis of Romana and the British ministry were authorised to act without the concurrence of the British generals already in the Peninsula; suffice it to say, that the enthusiastic ardour of the Spaniards was supposed to be *general*; and it seems to have been presumed, that this *general* patriotism would, without any previous arrangement, quickly run into some form or other, in which it might support and co-operate with a British army. The manifestoes of all the provinces displayed the most exalted and determined spirit to resist the French, or perish in the attempt; nor had the *first* efforts of the patriots been unworthy of those declarations. A number of young officers too, sent into Spain for the double purpose of exciting the people and transmitting information to the British government, conversing only with such as were of congenial sentiments and hopes with themselves,

State of Spain in 1808

made such reports to the British ministers, which no doubt, they believed to be true, and which they knew to be such as their employers were anxious to hear. The event proved how unfortunately ignorant those reporters were, both of the enemy and the real state of the country which was about to become the theatre of hostilities. Sir John Moore, not long after he had entered Spain, made the following observations, which he never afterwards found reason to retract, in a letter from Salamanca to Lord Castlereagh, dated November 24, 1808

"The information of which your Lordship must already be in possession, renders it, perhaps, less necessary for me to dwell upon the state of affairs in Spain, so different from that which was to be expected from the reports of the officers employed at the head quarters of the different Spanish armies. They seem all of them to be most miserably deceived, for until lately, and since the arrival of Mr Stuart and Lord William Bentinck at Madrid, and of Colonel Graham at the central army, no just representation seems ever to have been transmitted. Had the real strength and composition of the Spanish armies been known, the defenceless state of the country, and the character of the central government, I conceive that Cadiz, not Corunna, would have been chosen for the disembarkation of the troops from England, and that Seville or Cordova, not Salamanca, would have been selected, as the proper place for the assembling of the army. The Spanish government do not seem ever to have contemplated the possibility of a second attack, and are certainly quite unprepared to meet that which is now made upon them. Their armies are inferior to the French, even in numbers. In the provinces no armed force whatever exists, either for immediate protection, or

Strength of the French Army.

to reinforce the armies. The enthusiasm, of which we have heard so much, no where appears. Whatever goodwill there is (and I believe among the *lower orders* there is a great deal) is taken no advantage of."

After the most important events in the Peninsula, of the summer of 1808, namely, the surrender of Dupont, the flight of Joseph Bonaparte from Madrid, and the convention of Cintra, the French army retired from Madrid, and repassed the Ebro. Their force in this direction consisted of about 50,000 men, concentrated in Navarre and Biscay. They had besides garrisons in Barcelona, Figueras, and other fortresses, amounting to above 15,000 more. In these positions they quietly waited for reinforcements, which were on their march, as was announced from time to time in every foreign journal. By the 1st of November, the French army on the Ebro was reinforced to the amount of 113,000 men. The Spaniards never had, at one time, more than 60 or 70,000 in arms. It was evident, therefore, that the Spaniards must be defeated; notwithstanding, orders had been given from Great Britain, that the different corps of British troops should form a junction at Burgos.

While the French rested in their cantonments behind the Ebro, expecting reinforcements, and surveying, at their ease, the unconnected movements of the Spaniards, the Spanish and English newspapers were full of the enthusiastic patriotism of the Spaniards: "all ranks and ages," they reported, "had taken up arms; were eager to rush upon their enemies; and were determined to die, rather than submit to a treacherous, cruel, and impious invader." Such also was the spirit of the proclamations published by the provincial Juntas. So prevalent, at this time, was the conviction of the *universal* enthusiasm of the Spaniards,

State of Affairs, as represented to Sir John Moore.

in the British Cabinet, that in a memorial, transmitted for the information of Sir John Moore by the British ministry, it was alledged, that "the French armies could not enter the defiles of Asturias without exposing themselves to be destroyed, even by the armed peasants." In the month of September it was considered most probable, that the Spaniards alone would soon drive the French out of the Peninsula. Lord William Bentinck was directed to make inquiries respecting the intentions of the Spanish government on the expulsion of the French; and directions were given, under particular circumstances, to urge the invasion, with a combined British army, of the south of France. Such was the flattering picture presented to the view of Sir John Moore, before he commenced his march, and was enabled to judge for himself. No blame, however, could attach to the British ministry; as they evidently proceeded from the best information that they could obtain.

In aid of Sir John Moore, a considerable detachment from England was to land at Corunna, under Sir David Baird, with whom he was to form a junction on the borders of Leon and Gallicia. Sir John was charged at the same time to act in concert with the British commanders-in-chief at Lisbon, and to receive requisitions or representations, either from the Spanish government or the British minister, upon all occasions, with the utmost deference and attention. The British minister plenipotentiary to the central government of Spain, was Mr. John Hookham Frére, who had lately been appointed to that office in the place of Lord William Bentinck.

By the resignations of the three generals, Dalrymple, Burrard, and Wellesley, which took place almost immediately on these arrangements, Sir John was liberated

Strength of the British Army.

from a part of those embarrassments in which so complicated a plan must have involved him; and having become commander-in-chief, as it were by accident, he was left unfeathered by superiors, to adopt such measures as appeared to be most proper and efficacious for giving speedy effect to the expedition. These measures, however, necessarily produced delay. Sir John's army was also unprovided with carriages for the artillery or commissariat stores, or for the light baggage of the regiments; no magazines were formed on the line of march; nor was the commissariat department in such a state as to give any great hope that these defects would be speedily or effectually remedied.

It was not till October 27, (above a month after he received his appointments from Lord Castlereagh) that Sir J. Moore was enabled to quit Lisbon. The accounts of both Portuguese and British officers, sent to examine the roads, agreed in stating those leading through the mountains, which form the northern boundary of Portugal, to be impassable for artillery. The Spanish commissary-general had declared his inability to furnish provisions on the road by Elvas. The army was, therefore, necessarily divided. Five brigades of artillery, the whole cavalry, and four regiments of infantry, under General Hope, marched by Elvas, on the Madrid road, to Badajoz and Espinar; whence they were to join the commander-in-chief at Salamanca, by the Esculiar road. Two brigades of infantry, under General Paget, moved onward by Elvas and Alcantara; two brigades, under General Beresford, by Coimbra and Almeida; and three brigades, under General Fraser, by Abrantes and Almeida. The total amount of the forces that left Portugal was 18,628, of which only 912 formed the cavalry.

The British Commander misled by the Spanish Juntas.

The situation of Salamanca, nearly half way between Corunna and Madrid, seemed to point it out as a place where the columns of the Generals Hope and Baird, moving in opposite directions, covered, as it had been promised it would, by the Spanish armies of the left and centre, might more conveniently effect their junction with the main body.

As Sir John Moore approached the scene of action, he gradually acquired just notions of Spanish affairs; for he was in close correspondence with men of candour and discernment, who resided on the spot. Little was written by them of Spanish ardour and enthusiasm; on the contrary, their letters were filled with details of the weakness and tardiness of the Spanish Junta. A judicious plan of a campaign can be formed only by reflecting on the actual state of things; and must necessarily be pregnant with calamity, if founded on false intelligence. Yet the Spanish Juntas exerted all their finesse to deceive, not their enemy, but their allies; and they succeeded so perfectly, as to lead them to execute a plan adapted to a state of things the reverse of their real condition. Their ardent proclamations exaggerated numbers, and invented victories, could not deceive him whom it would have been proper to deceive. Bonaparte found ample means of obtaining exact information. There were traitors even among the patriots loudest in the cause of their country, who enabled Bonaparte to calculate, with perfect accuracy, on the precise portion of patriotism scattered throughout the kingdom of Spain. There is no doubt but that the Spanish Juntas, born at heated imagination, and an excess of presumption and ignorance, were so blinded as to have misled the British cabinet unintentionally. For it is a well-known fact, that at first they considered Spain

Advance of the French Armies.

as more than a match for France; they applied to England for arms and money only, believing they could raise more soldiers than they required; and they remained for some time in this infatuation.

Sir John Moore entered Salamanca November 13, where he had leisure and opportunity to appreciate justly the state of affairs; and he observed, "that things were not in that flourishing state they were represented and believed to be, in England."

Of the armies destined to cover the junction of the British forces, that of the centre, or Estremadura, under the young Count Belvidere, having rashly approached the French position at Burgos, had been routed and dispersed. Both Blake and Castanos were marching from the point of assembling. The boasted army of the latter did not amount, on the 25th of October, to above one-third of what had been reported: it was no other than a complete mass of miserable peasantry, without clothing, without organization, and with few officers that deserved the name.

While Sir John Moore was brooding over these disappointments, an express from Pignotelli, Captain-general of the province, informed him of the advance of the French to Valladolid, within twenty leagues of Salamanca. This was a moment of difficulty, and the most melancholy apprehensions. The British general had with him only three brigades of infantry, without a single gun. His reinforcements could not arrive in less than ten days. The Spanish armies seemed to have shrunk to the opposite extremities of Biscay and Arragon, as if to leave to their enemies an open passage for the destruction of their allies.

Sir John Moore assembled the Junta of the place, and

Generals Blake and Romana defeated.

explained to them the probable necessity of a retreat to Ciudad Rodrigo. They heard him with the most provoking tranquillity, and the people beheld the approaches of the French and of the English with almost equal apathy. The peasantry and lower orders were well affected to the cause of their country, but the spirit of independence evaporated in ascending to the higher ranks.

It was fortunately discovered by Sir John Moore, that the fears of Pignotelli had magnified the danger. Only 1000 French cavalry had entered Valladolid, and then retreated to Valencia the next morning. None of the French infantry had, at that time, advanced beyond Burgos. Sir John, delivered from his alarm, had now to wait quietly the arrival of the corps under the Generals Hope and Baird, whose opposite routes did not permit him to move a step towards the one, without retreating so much from, and hazarding the safety of the other. The Junction he expected to take place about the beginning of December.

From the valley of Renedo de Caquerina, in the mountains of St. Andero, General Leith wrote to Sir John Moore, that the armies of Blake and Romana had been defeated in successive combats, since the 5th of November, and entirely dispersed. A straggling party of from 7 to 8000 alone had reached the valley of Renedo. The French occupied the country from Burgos to Reynosa.

The British commander in-chief, in addition to the ruin of his troops in the Asturias, was mortified by seeing the fugitives from Blake's army passing, without any fear of the resentment of their countrymen, who looked upon these betrayers of their country without anger, and even with a smile.

Romana appointed Captain-general of the Spanish Armies.

The defeat of the army of the North rendered the situation of Sir David Baird alarming, if not immediately dangerous. The French patroles had pushed forward as far as Benevento. Sir David was at Astorga; and should the French follow up their successes by advancing through the Asturias, his rear might be endangered by the roads either of Mantoredo or Lugo. The Marquis of Romana (after the defeat of Blake, appointed Captain-general of the Spanish armies) was indeed endeavouring to collect his scattered fugitives at Leon; but such assistance could not in induce Sir David Baird to hazard an advance towards Salamanca, at a time when a retreat upon Portugal seemed the only measure left for the portion of the army then posted at that place. Sir David Baird, relying on intelligence received from General Blake, that the French were advancing in force from Rio Seco, had already determined on a retreat to Corunna, when Sir John Moore undecieved him, and sent him orders immediately to effect a junction.

The British commander seems to have been influenced on this occasion, partly by the accounts he had received of the march of the French towards Castanos, a movement which delivered him from all apprehensions for the immediate safety of his own army; but more especially by the extreme repugnance he had always felt to disappoint the hopes of his country, in abandoning the Spaniards without a struggle. The pressing instances of Mr. Frére, deprecating, in the name of the Junta, all retreat upon Portugal; and that minister's mis-statement as to the amount of the French force in the neighbourhood of Madrid, (whom he calculated at no more than 11,000 men) determined him to leave no possibility untried, in a case where a concurrence of adverse circum-

General Castanos defeated.

stances left nothing but possibilities to build on. By taking a line of positions on the Douro, new exertions might be awakened in the yet unsubdued provinces of the South; time would be afforded to call the dormant energies of the people into action, and to give reality and substance to the boasted, but yet unembodied levies of the Junta.

A new disaster frustrated this plan. Sir John Moore received intelligence on the 28th of November, from Mr. Stuart, at Madrid, of the total defeat of General Castanos at Tudela, on the 23d. The question with the British army was no longer how it might serve the Spaniards, but how to provide for its own safety. It was, whether 20,000 British troops should be opposed to the undivided attack of 100,000 French; or whether, by retiring upon their resources at Lisbon, they should preserve themselves for more fortunate times. Sir John was not a moment undecided. He wrote immediately to Sir David Baird to retire upon Corunna, and from thence to join him by sea at Lisbon. General Hope, who had advanced to the neighbourhood of Madrid, received orders, according to circumstances, either to regain the main body, or retire upon Guadarama. Sir John Moore, then assembling his general officers, and communicating both the intelligence he had received and the plan he had *in consequence* adopted, told them "that he had not called them together to request their council, or to commit themselves by giving any opinion on the subject. He took the responsibility entirely upon himself; and he only required, that they should immediately prepare by carrying it into effect."

The plan of retreating was afterwards abandoned by Sir John Moore, for the following reasons. Within a very few days after the news of Castano's defeat and the

Sir John Moore mis-informed by Mr. Frére.

total dispersion of his army, Sir John received a letter from Mr. Stuart at Madrid, stating, on the authority of Don Thomas Morla, the agent and chief ruler of the Junta, that General St. Juan, with 20,000 men, had twice repulsed the enemy at Sepulveda ; that Castanos was bringing the greater part of his force from Calatuyd and Siguerez to join him ; that the enemy had only small foraging parties in Castile ; and that Bonaparte was at Burgos. In addition to these statements, came letters from Mr. Frére, (to whose representations the commander-in-chief had been directed to pay the greatest deference) all of them deprecating a retreat upon Portugal ; all magnifying the resources of the Spaniards, extenuating their losses, extolling their enthusiasm, and holding out the energy of the provinces as yet unsubdued, as a counter-balancing consolation for the loss of those that had yielded.

Such was the blind zeal of Mr. Frére, that he listened with credulity to the hacknied stories of internal disturbances in France. "There is, besides," he writes, "a great delay in the arrival of the reinforcements which were promised the French ; and which, if they had been sent, would by this time have composed an enormous force." Unfortunately, Mr. Frére's means of information did not enable him to discover, that the French had already in Spain an enormous force. "There are, besides," Mr. Frére continues, "reports, that the resistance to the conscription has been much more obstinate than usual ; and the pastoral letter of the Bishop of Carcassonne seems to imply, that such reports cannot be wholly groundless."

The supreme Junta, however, not trusting to the devoted exertions of the English plenipotentiary, nor even

The French Army advancing to Madrid

to the false statements with which Don Mora had abused that minister's understanding in despite of his eyes, dispatched no doubt at the suggestion of the traitor Mora Don Bentua Escalante, Captain-general of the armies of Grenada, and Brigadier general Don Augustin Buendia, to Salamanca, under pretence of concerting operations between the combined British and Spanish, and "accelerating their combined movements, and avoiding all delays, so contrary to the noble and important cause of the two nations." The two Spanish generals corroborated the flattering statements which the British commander had before received. They were rather surprised when Sir John Moore introduced to them Colonel Graham, who had the night before supped with St. Juan in his way from Madrid, whom they represented as in possession of the pass of Somo Sierra. St. Juan's corps had been charged by a body of French cavalry, and completely routed, and there was not a doubt, Colonel Graham stated, that the French army was in full march for Madrid. Such contradictory reports may well be supposed to have determined Sir J. Moore to revert to his first resolution, rather than to induce him to trust himself to allies, whose defective information exhibited proofs, if not of their treachery, at least of ignorance scarcely less culpable.

The letter which was brought by the Spanish officers from the Supreme Junta, as their credentials, to Sir J. Moore, was dated at Aranjuez, November 28. A few days afterwards, while Mora, who had begun to capitulate to the French, was employed in recommending to the inhabitants submission to the conqueror, who was at the gates of Madrid, a despatch, dated at Madrid, December 2, and signed by the Prince of Castel Franco and

Mr. Frere's Dispatches to Sir John Moore.

Thomas Moria, was sent off to "his Excellency Sir John Moore, commander of the army of his Britannic Majesty," professing to be "a true and just representation of affairs at that moment. General Castanos's army, (it stated. amounting to about 35,000, was falling back upon Madrid in the greatest haste, to unite with its garrison. And that another force of 10,000 was also coming for the same purpose to that city, where nearly 40,000 men would join them. With this number of troops, the enemy's army, which had presented itself, was not to be feared. But the Junta still apprehending an increase of the enemy's force, to unite with that at hand, hoped that his Excellency, if no force was immediately opposed to him, would be able to fall back to unite with their army, or to take the direction to fall on the rear of the enemy. And the Junta could not doubt, that the rapidity of his Excellency's movements would be such as the interests of both countries required."

Whilst Sir John Moore was employed in taking into consideration this paper, which was delivered to him on the 5th of December, Colonel Charmilly arrived with despatches from Mr. Frére, at Talavera; repeating, in terms still more vehement, the necessity of an advance upon Madrid, and resting the fate of Spain upon the decision of the British general.

We pass over the insurrections at Madrid, the correspondence of Mr. Frére, and many other minor scenes of action, to detail matters of greater moment; among which were the military operations between the subject of our history and the British commander-in-chief.

CHAPTER II.

Sir John Moore's head quarters were now at Alajos, where he had received a letter from the Marquis of Roman, at Leon, with whom he was in communication, approving the reasons of retreat he had before intended. From Alajos it had been projected to move on Valladolid. But the situation of Marshal Soult, with two divisions, at Saldannah, and Junot at Burgos, exposed Sir David Baird to be attacked in forming his junction. Sir J. Moore, accordingly, in order to unite as soon as possible with Sir D. Baird, returned to Toro, whence it might still be possible, should Marshal Soult afford the opportunity, to strike a blow, under cover of the belief expressed in the French dispatches that the force and movements of the French upon Talavera and Badajoz must have forced back the English army upon Lisbon.

At Toro, Sir J. Moore received accounts of the disorganized and feeble state of the Marquis of Roman's army, with which he was meditating a junction, for adding vigor to his intended attack on Marshal Soult. From Toro, too, Sir J. Moore dispatched an account to Mr. Fane, of the intelligence he had received by the intercepted dispatches, and here he was again troubled by the harassing intrigues of the Junta and the feeble representations of the minister plenipotentiary. The general, free in his designs, continued his march on Vila-

Force of the English and French Armies.

pardo and Valderos. On December 20 he reached Majorca, and there, by completing his junction with Sir David Baird, united the whole British army, which now amounted to 23,000 infantry and 2000 and some hundred cavalry.

On December 21, the British commander advanced to Sahagun, from which place Lord Paget, at the head of 400 horse, had the morning before dislodged and defeated 700 French cavalry, taking 157 prisoners, with two lieutenant-colonels. It was here Sir J. Moore concerted with General Romana the plan of attack on Marshal Soult, whose forces, to the number of 18,000, were concentrated behind the river Carrion; 7000 were posted at Saldannah, and 5000 at the town of Carrion, below Saldannah. The British were collected between Sahagun, Grahala, and Villado. It was the intention of the British general to march from Sahagun to Carrion, and thence to Saldannah by night, while Romana proceeded to the same point by Mansilla. The Marquis prepared, in the best manner the defective state of his troops would permit, to co-operate in the design; for which purpose he arrived at Mansilla on the 23d, at three o'clock in the afternoon, and from thence announced his arrival to Sir John, who was to march from Sahagun the same evening.

The expectations of the army were wound up to the highest pitch. The dispositions were already made for combat, and the generals had received their instructions, when Sir J. Moore received information, that considerable reinforcements had arrived to the French from Palencia. A courier from Las Santas told of the halt of the French at Talavera, and several messengers reported their advance from Madrid. The latter part of this intelligence

Sir John Moore's Retreat.

was confirmed by an express from the Marquis of Romana. The purport of these movements was easily frustrated by the British commander. He countermanded the advance of his troops, and determined on a retreat.

This retreat, from the distance marched, and the numerous difficulties by which it was attended, will long remain an honourable proof of the energy, perseverance, and valour of the British soldiery. It has no parallel in the annals of modern history; and it reflected equal honour on the talents of the commander-in-chief by whom it was conducted, and the officers and men who were individually concerned in its accomplishment. Sir John Moore was no egotist, and therefore we shall give an extract from his despatch without hesitation:—

“ On the 21st (December) the army reached Sahagun; it was necessary to halt there, in order to refresh the men, and on account of provisions. The information I received was, that Marshal Soult was at Saldannah with about 16,000 men, with posts along the river, from Guarda to Carrion.

“ The army was ordered to march in two columns at eight o'clock on the night of the 23d, to force the bridge at Carrion, and from thence proceed to Saldannah. At six o'clock I received information that considerable reinforcements had arrived at Carrion from Palencia, and a letter from the Marquis de la Romana informed me, that the French were advancing from Madrid either to Valladolid or Salamanca. It was evident that it was too late to prosecute the attempt upon Soult, that I must be satisfied with the diversion I had made, and that I had no time to lose to secure my retreat. The next morning Lieutenant-general Hope, with his own division, and that of Lieutenant-general Fraser, marched to Majores. I sent Sir

Sir John Moore's Dispatches.

David Baird with his division to pass the river at Valencia, and followed Lieutenant-general Hope on the 25th, with the reserve and the light brigades, by Majorga and Valderas, to Benevente. The cavalry under Lord Paget followed the reserve on the 26th; both the latter corps entered this place yesterday. We continue our march on Astorga. Generals Hope and Fraser are already gone on; General Baird proceeds to-morrow from Valencia, and I shall leave this with the reserve at the same time. Lord Paget will remain with the cavalry to give us notice of the approach of the enemy; hitherto the infantry have not come up; but they are near, and the cavalry surround us in great number: they are checked by our cavalry, which have obtained, by their spirit and enterprize, an ascendancy over that of the French, which nothing but great superiority of numbers on their part will get the better of.

“ The diversion made by our march on Sahagun, though at great risk to ourselves, has been complete; it remains to be seen what advantage the Spaniards in the South will be able to make of it; but the march of the French on Badajoz was stopped, and when its advanced guard had reached Talavera de la Reina, every thing disposable was turned in this direction. The only part of the army which has been hitherto engaged with the enemy has been the cavalry, and it is impossible for me to say too much in their praise. I mentioned to your Lordship, in my letter of the 16th, the success Brigadier-general Stewart had met with in defeating a detachment of cavalry at Rueda. Since that, few days have passed without his taking or killing different parties of the French, generally superior in force to those which attacked them. On their march to Sahagun, Lord Paget

Bonaparte arrives in Spain with Reinforcements

had information of 600 or 700 cavalry being in that town. He marched on the 20th from some villages, where he was posted in front of the enemy at Majorga, with the 10th and 15th hussars. The 10th marched straight to the town, whilst Lord Paget with the 15th endeavoured to turn it. Unfortunately he fell in with a patrol, one of whom escaped, and gave the alarm. By this means the French had time to form on the outside of the town before Lord Paget got round. He immediately charged them, beat them, and took from 140 to 150 prisoners, amongst whom were two Lieutenant-colonels and eleven officers, with the loss on our part of six or eight men, and perhaps 20 wounded" !

It is not easy to calculate the exact amount of the forces brought by the French Emperor against the Spaniards, after his return from the conferences at Erfurt. According to an intercepted letter from the governor of Bayonne, 78,000 were to enter Spain between the 16th of October and the 16th of November. About the same period, 15,000, chiefly from Italy, entered Catalonia, and 30,000, under Junot, entered Spain in the beginning of December. The forces stationed behind the Ebro, together with the force in Barcelona, and the other garrisons, amounted to 65,000, making a total of 182,000 at least. But the French prisoners agreed in making the total of the French army in Spain, at the end of 1804 and the beginning of 1805, 200,000. By the ruin of the armies under Blake, Castanos, and the young Count Belisere, the road was cleared, and Bonaparte moved from Burgos upon the capital.

Bonaparte, on the 18th of December, marched from Valsaín, with an army consisting of 32,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry, even the division under Mortier, called

Advance of the French Armies commanded by Bonaparte.

the Duke of Treviso, which was on its march to Saragossa, was stopped. In short, the whole disposable force of the French army, forming an irregular crescent, was marching in radii to environ the British. To accomplish this favourite object, Bonaparte interrupted his victorious career to the South, where there was nothing capable of resisting him. Lisbon and Cadiz, at that time, would have yielded as easily as Madrid. The bold measures which had been adopted by Sir J. Moore prevented the immediate subjugation of the Peninsula. It remains to be seen what was the plan he adopted for the extrication of his own army from its present most perilous situation.

The advanced guard of the French cavalry, which Bonaparte had brought from Madrid, passed through Tordesillas on the 24th of December; on the same day the van of the British army left Sahagun, and both moved towards the same point, at Benevento. The retreat of the British army now began by the passage of the river Eslar. The Marquis of Romana was left in possession of the bridge of Mansilla and the road to Leon. Sir David Baird crossed the Eslar, for the ferry of Valentia, where he took post to cover the magazines at Benevento and Zamora. Sir J. Moore, with the remainder of the army, passed by the bridge of Castro Gonsalo. These movements were masked by the cavalry under Lord Paget, who, advancing close to the positions of the enemy, fell in with and defeated several detachments of cavalry, which Bonaparte had pushed forward from Tordesillas.

Before Sir J. Moore quitted Benevento, about 500 of Bonaparte's imperial cavalry crossed a ford below the town, and attacked the English pickets, who immediately assembled, to the amount of 220 men, under Bri-

General Lefebvre taken Prisoner.

gadier-general Stewart, retired slowly, disputing every inch of ground, and repeatedly charging through the enemy's squadrons, till the arrival of Lord Paget with the 10th hussars, who, together with the pickets, drove the enemy into the river, killing or wounding 55, and taking 70 prisoners; among whom was the young General Lefebvre, commander of Bonaparte's imperial guard. Bonaparte is said to have viewed the action from a lofty hill, about a league from Benovento.

Here Sir J. Moore detached General Crauford with 3000 chosen troops on the road to Orense. Had he neglected this precaution, Bonaparte might have sent a light corps by this road, headed the British column, and obstructed their retreat. Besides, there was great room to apprehend, that the whole army could not have been provided with subsistence had it remained united. General Crauford proceeded undisturbed to Vigo, while the other columns pursued their march, through deep snows, across the dreary plains of Leon, to Astorga, where the British general found the town filled and the road encumbered with the straggling army of Rosana, who, having abandoned the position and bridge of Mansilla, without breaking it down according to his instructions, was going to Orense. The Duke of Dalmatia, having crossed the Eslas at Mansilla, quietly entered Leon. His intention probably was, to occupy Astorga before the arrival of the British. In this, however, (if such was his design) he was disappointed by the skill and promptitude of Sir J. Moore.

The British commander, uniting his army with the division of Sir David Baird from Valencia, proceeded, December 20, on Villafranca and Lugo. At Astorga all the superfluous camp-equipment was destroyed, and a

Skirmishes between the British and French.

the mules, horses, &c. that could not keep up with the columns, abandoned. On the march from hence the military chest was sacrificed; barrels full of dollars were staved, and precipitated over rocks into ravines, dens, and rivers. From Astorga to Lugo the road lay, for the most part, through bleak mountains covered with snow, affording so scanty a supply of provisions, that the troops were sometimes two days without tasting food.

Bonaparte, after being joined by the Duke of Dalmatia at Astorga, and reviewing his troops, to the amount of 70,000 men, had dispatched three divisions, under three marshals, in pursuit of the English army. Continual skirmishes took place between the French advanced, and the British rear-guard commanded by Sir John Moore in person, who took his measures so well as always to repel his assailants. He offered battle to Soult, Duke of Dalmatia, before Lugo. This the Duke did not think fit to accept; conceiving, probably, that he was playing a surer game, by endeavouring to envelope and destroy the British on their march.

On the 11th of January, 1809, the British army marched from Betanzos to Corunna, having now traversed 250 miles of mountainous and difficult country, in the face of an enemy immensely superior in numbers; very often without food or shelter, drenched with rain, and worn out with cold and fatigue; yet still unbroken, presenting every-where an undaunted front to the enemy, who had not to boast of having won a single trophy. As yet, however, they were not in safety, very few transports having arrived from Vigo, owing to contrary winds. The position of Corunna was bad, and the enemy were assembling on the heights which surround it. There were not wanting generals who advised Sir J. Moore to

offer terms to the Duke of Dalmatia, for the purpose of being allowed to embark in safety; but the British general was determined not to accept of any terms, which (to use his own expression) would be in the least dishonorable to the army or to the country.

There were three ports at which the army might have been embarked—Vigo, Ferrol, and Corunna. The distance from Astorgo to Vigo was too great, and besides there was not at Vigo any military position. The jealousy of the Spaniards would not have admitted the English into Ferrol; and further the roads were too narrow and winding for transports to ride in safety from an enemy on shore. The peninsula of Batanzos, Sir J. Moore had reason to hope would afford a position for defending the embarkation, and was also much nearer, that had not contrary winds detained the transports two days longer at Vigo, the army would have been embarked unmolested. As this was not the case, the general prepared for action by occupying a small chain of hills a short distance from Corunna. The enemy occupied a more extended chain in the front; and a valley, with the village of Evia, separated the two armies. From the 13th to the 15th, the embarkation of the sick, the artillery, horses, &c. was going on, the enemy in the mean time gradually drawing round and skirmishing with our out-posts.

We shall in many instances, during this interesting narrative, insert the testimony of an eye-witness, which must certainly supersede all opinion: He says—

“ On the 15th the advanced guard of the British army, which was stationed on the heights near a place called Villaboa, was attacked by the enemy, as were the other out-posts, probably with the view of ascertaining,

Lieutenant-colonel Mackenzie killed.

with more certainty, the nature of their position and the amount of their force. This was considered as a preliminary measure to a general battle, which was confirmed by the events of the following day.

"The French this day posted two guns at a detached house on the road, from whence they fired on the British lines. They were soon silenced by two English field-pieces, and obliged to retire with precipitation. The English guns were so extremely well served and pointed, that a shot from one of them was seen to kill several of the enemy, while their efforts were attended with little effect, the shots mostly falling short of the objects they were aimed at; indeed, I neither saw nor heard of any mischief done by them, unless the killing of a mule may be considered deserving of that appellation. One shell passed over the advanced post it was directed against, falling near the road amonst several British soldiers without occasioning any of them the smallest injury. The whole day was passed in continual skirmishing, during which the cool and intrepid conduct of the British troops was eminently conspicuous and exemplary. The late Lieutenant-colonel Mackenzie, of the 1st battalion of the 5th regiment particularly distinguished himself by his activity and bravery. Having had one horse shot under him, he remounted on another, advanced again to the attack, and unfortunately received a wound from a musket ball, which occasioned his death in a few hours afterwards. A most interesting spectacle presented itself during this day in the movements and operations of the contending parties, being sufficiently near for me plainly to distinguish every thing that took place. In one instance I noticed a detachment, consisting, I should think, of more than a hundred of the enemy, take possession of

The Horses and Mules destroyed

a house on the side of a hill, from whence they were speedily dislodged by the British artillery, the first shot from whom penetrated completely through the house, compelling them to seek safety on the height by a precipitate flight

"This day, and the preceding, a great number of horses and mules, which had been disabled, were shot in the square of the arsenal at St Lucia, near Corunna

"I have already mentioned, that in consequence of the enemy's movements on the morning of this day, a general battle was expected immediately, but that nothing more took place than a series of skirmishing. The delay, in all probability, was occasioned by the reinforcements expected by the enemy not having arrived in due time

"The firing did not entirely cease till the evening, when the out-posts were relieved, and the brave English troops who had been engaged were withdrawn to take that rest which their vigorous and arduous exertions rendered so requisite. The army in general had been supplied with their due proportion of rations since their arrival at Corunna, which the uncommon rapidity of the retreat, and the local circumstances previously detailed, prevented their receiving with regularity during their march. Those soldiers who required them were also furnished with shoes, stockings, and other articles of clothing, and new arms were delivered out, to replace those that had been lost or rendered unfit for service

"On the morning of the 16th an unusual degree of bustle and animation appeared to prevail amongst the Spanish troops and inhabitants, his Excellency the commandant, Don Joaquin Garcia Morena, having by proclamation and other methods exhorted them to exert their utmost efforts in co-operating with their brave allies to

Reinforcements arrive in the French Camp.

repel the assaults of the enemy, and to afford them every possible facility towards effecting their embarkation, declaring, at the same time, it was his determination to defend the place to the last extremity. This venerable and patriotic officer, though apparently upwards of seventy years of age, evinced the utmost activity and zeal in the performance of his duties, being the greater part of every day on horseback, personally inspecting the progress of the works, and the organization of the volunteers.

" I again this morning visited the English advanced posts, which had not altered their position since the preceding day ; at this period every thing appearing perfectly quiet, the soldiers, excepting those on sentry, were resting and taking refreshment, but still in a situation ready to turn out at a moment's notice. The men had erected for themselves huts, formed of boards, straw, and other materials, hastily collected from the buildings in the neighbourhood, there being very few tents.

" Notwithstanding the fatigue the English soldiers had already undergone, and the severe conflicts they had recently been engaged in, they appeared in excellent spirits, expressing the highest confidence in their officers, and seemed anxious, by being again opposed to the enemy, to bring to a conclusion the object of their illustrious general-in-chief, of the favourable issue of which they entertained no doubt. It was between the hours of ten and eleven, that I rode to the English out-posts ; the morning was extremely fine, and I had a very distinct view of the enemy's army. A large body of cavalry and infantry, evidently a reinforcement, at this time were marching up to the heights in front, accompanied by bands of music, drums and fifes. A few shots were fired at their rear by the British, but I believe the distance was

The Enemy is driven from the Heights.

so great for them to do execution. The extent of the French lines could plainly be ascertained through a telescope, and I could distinguish engineers and artillery-men busily employed in their front, as I imagined, erecting a battery. Were I permitted to offer an opinion of the numbers of which the enemy's army consisted, to judge from the extent and depth of their lines, I should certainly estimate them at upwards of thirty thousand.

"The commanding positions of the enemy's guns enabled them to have a superior effect to those of the English, who were so much below them. The principal attack of the enemy was directed to the division under Sir David Baird, which was undoubtedly the weakest portion of the British line, against which they advanced three very strong columns. Nothing could possibly exceed the intrepidity, firmness, and good order with which this division sustained the attack. After a very arduous struggle, the British succeeded in driving the enemy down from the heights whereon they had attacked them, and charged them with the utmost spirit and ardour half-way up the hill, on the other side, which they had before occupied, to the place where they had posted their guns, which very nearly fell into the hands of the English, and were only preserved by being hastily withdrawn.

"A village to the right of General Baird's division became an object of obstinate contest between the two armies. It was situated at the foot of a hill, and crowded with French troops. These were gallantly attacked by the English no less than three several times, who at length succeeded in carrying the place, after an immense slaughter of the enemy."*

* Milburne's Letter to Lord Castlereagh.

Death of Sir J. Moore by a Cannon-shot.

On January 16, when orders had been issued for the embarkation of the whole army, General Hope reported from his post, that the enemy's lines were getting under arms. Sir John hastened to the field, where the pickets were engaged, and beheld the French descending from the hills in four columns, two of which threatened the right of the British line, composed of Sir David Baird's division; upon whose right the rifle corps formed a chain across the valley which united it with General Frazer's division, the whole stretching in an oblique direction towards Corunna.

Sir John Moore perceiving that the great effort of the enemy would be directed against Lord W. Bentinck's brigade and General Massingham's, which composed Sir D. Baird's right wing, had ordered General Frazer to move up, and General Paget to support Lord W. Bentinck with the reserve. The two lines moved on under a shower of balls, and on their closing, the general, perceiving his right to be outflanked, ordered the 4th regiment, which composed it, to form an obtuse angle with the other half of the regiment; a manœuvre which was performed to the General's entire satisfaction, the soldiers at the same time commencing a heavy flanking fire. The 50th and the 42d, which composed the remainder of Lord W. Bentinck's brigade, charged gallantly, and drove the enemy from the village of Elvina with great slaughter. Sir J. Moore was in the act of ordering up the guards to support the brave Highlanders, when he received his death-wound by a cannon-ball on the shoulder, and was conveyed from the field in a blanket by six soldiers of the 42d. Sir D. Baird had already left the field of action, from a severe wound in his arm. The soldiers, however, undismayed by the loss

The British Troops embark on board Vessels.

of their leaders, maintained the advantages they had obtained on the right, and continued to repel the repeated attacks of the enemy on their centre and left, until night left them masters of the field. Not more than 15,000 British were engaged, of whom about 7 or 800 were killed or wounded. The French engaged in this battle were estimated at 20,000, and consisted, in part, of the regiments sent back from Portugal to the ports of France nearest to Spain, by the Convention of Cintra, their loss was reckoned at about 2000. General Hope, to whom the chief command devolved, took advantage of the success which had been obtained, to embark the army, before it should be overwhelmed with the increasing numbers of the enemy. The boats were all in readiness, and the previous measures were so well concerted, that nearly the whole army were embarked during the night.

Though the French had no disposition to renew the engagement, when the morning of the 17th arose, and they saw that the British troops were gone, they pushed on their light troops to the heights of St. Lucia, in the forenoon they got up some cannon to a rising ground near the harbour, and fired at the transports. Several of the masters were so much frightened, that they cut their cables, and four ships run aground. The troops of these ships were put on board others, and the stranded vessels burnt. The rest of the fleet quitted the harbour. At two o'clock General Hill's brigade, which had been stationed as a corps of reserve on a promontory behind the town, began to embark under the citadel, and during that night and the following morning, General Beresford, who commanded the rear-guard of about 2000 men for covering the embarkation, sent off all the sick and wounded whose condition admitted of their being removed.

Loss of the British Army.

Lastly, the rear-guard itself got into the boats, and the whole of the embarkation was completed on the 18th of January without interruption.

In this retreat the British army lost all its ammunition, all its magazines, above 500 horses, and 5 or 6000 men; but still above 20,000 were computed to have been relanded safely in England.

"That the enemy were so successfully opposed," says Mr. Milburne, "and finally repulsed, was owing to the incomparable conduct and intrepidity of the British troops; and that the embarkation was so completely effected, may be attributed to the judicious means employed to support and encourage their extraordinary efforts. In regular succession from one affair to another, opportunities were given, as they were universally employed, to display the skill and bravery of the British military character.

"The death of every individual who gloriously terminates his existence in the service of his country, is in some degree a matter of public interest and general concern, but when an officer of the high and distinguished rank in which the merits of Sir John Moore, as commander of the British forces in Spain, had placed him, from whose splendid military talents, and those superior endowments which grace a soldier, we might with confidence have anticipated future achievements, adding to the glory, happiness, and honour, not only of this kingdom, but eventually of all Europe, is cut off in the meridian of a brilliant career on the field of battle, and dies in the arms of a victory, his fate becomes an object of the deepest regret; at the same time, the spirit of national exultation his heroic actions must naturally give rise to, in some degree reconciles us to his fate, and inspires us with an ardent, though rational curiosity, to become as

Death of Sir John Moore

acquainted with the minutest circumstances with which it was attended

"Sir John Moore was with the division of Lieutenant-general Sir David Baird, on which the first and most determined attack was made, by three strong columns of the enemy, here, at the head of the 50th regiment, the commander-in chief was struck by a cannon-shot, which shattered his arm, and lacerated the muscles of the left breast, so materially injuring the parts adjacent, as to preclude every hope of the wound not proving mortal

"The shot brought the general immediately to the ground, but so far was he from expressing the slightest concern for himself, or evincing symptoms of the excruciating agony he must have sustained, that I am positively assured, he surveyed his wound with rather a smiling countenance, and with the greatest coolness and composure observed, that he was sensible all aid would be useless, desiring the officer who proffered his assistance, to go immediately and inform General Hope of the circumstance, on whom the command now devolved, Sir David Baird having been previously wounded, and reluctantly compelled to leave the field. I cannot forbear in this place mentioning a trait in the conduct of Lieutenant general Baird, which, in my opinion, reflects great honour on his character as a soldier, and on his feeling as a man. Having been wounded (as before stated) in the upper part of his arm, professional assistance was immediately tendered, when hearing that the commander-in chief was also wounded, he insisted on the surgeon's immediately leaving him, and going to Sir John Moore, and he himself was taken on board the *Ville de Paris*, where his arm was amputated near the socket by the surgeon of that ship. Six soldiers, with tearful eyes, and

Sir John Moore's last Moments.

sorrowing hearts, conveyed their beloved commander from the field of battle, in a blanket, to his quarters at Corunna; on the way to which he anxiously inquired, if the enemy had been compelled to retire: being answered in the affirmative, he said, "then I am perfectly happy, and my life or death is of no consequence whatever," or words to the same effect. From the necessity there was of proceeding with the utmost caution and gentleness, the soldiers were near an hour in conveying the general to his quarters, during which he spoke very little, and scarcely uttered a groan. The short period that this gallant soldier continued an inhabitant of *this* world, after he arrived at his quarters, was passed in giving directions as to the disposal of his papers, and expressing his wishes relative to the future prospects of those officers of his staff and his friends to whom he was particularly attached. He expressed himself extremely solicitous that his country should approve of the endeavours he had exerted to promote her interests, and declared he had ever served with zeal and fidelity, and died in the manner he had always been desirous of. After this he spoke of family concerns, particularly as to what related to his mother; but at this period, his speech faltering considerably, he was obliged to desist. Sir John thanked his medical assistants in very kind terms for their care and attention; and after taking an affecting farewell of his aid-de-camps, and the mourning friends by whom he was surrounded, his manly soul winged its flight to *another* and a better world, escaping from its fragile tenement of mortality without one convulsive struggle, about twelve o'clock on the night of the 16th of January.*

Character of Sir John Moore.

We promised not to dwell on the military operations of either the British or the French armies in Spain ; but the treachery of Morio, and the sudden fall of Sir John Moore, were events which it was absolutely necessary to mention in our history ; and it is also proper to observe, that Sir John Moore's plan of operations, and its execution, actually saved Spain at this period from complete subjugation. He drew Bonaparte from the south to the north, ruined his equipments, diminished the number of his army, and so harassed his troops, as to prevent the possibility of making any progress for several months.

CHAPTER III.

BEFORE we proceed to detail the further progress of a warfare, unexampled in the history of human nature, we will endeavour to adduce a few observations on the unhappy expedition which threatened to overwhelm all our projects, and absolutely deprived the British Nation of one of the greatest heroes and best men which it could boast of having reared.

Sir John Moore, ere he had been appointed to the command of the expedition in Spain, had been allowed on all hands to be an excellent officer, and a worthy upright man. His military abilities had been tried, and proved him worthy of the command which his sovereign had conferred on him. He had risen rapidly, by his undoubted prowess, through all the subordinate steps of military promotion, and was deemed worthy, at a very early

Commands held by Sir John Moore.

period of his life, to be joined in command with some of the most experienced generals of the age. He had particularly distinguished himself at the siege of Calvi, in Corsica, in June 1792. In 1796 he had accompanied the great Abercrombie to Barbadoes, where he obtained the rank of brigadier-general: and, together with his friend and companion, brigadier-general Hope, he had reduced the island of St. Lucia.

On the conclusion of the West India campaign, he accompanied Sir Ralph Abercrombie to Europe: and possessing the friendship and confidence of that great and enlightened hero, General Moore was his companion in arms to the Helder, and afterwards to Egypt, where his country was deprived of the further valuable services of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, by the honourable sacrifice of his life before Alexandria, at which place also, the subject of the present memoir, then holding the rank of major-general, as well as brigadier-general Hope, were both wounded. On the return of major-general Moore to England, his Sovereign conferred on him the honourable Military Order of the Bath, as a recompence for his gallant exploits and important services; and he was appointed to the command of Shorncliff, in Kent. His next employment was the command of the unfortunate expedition to assist Sweden, the circumstances of the failure of which have been hitherto veiled in mystery.

Many opinions have been formed respecting the conduct of the campaign. Unwilling to be guided by prejudice on the one hand, or by the misrepresentation of warped judgments on the other, we will coolly and dispassionately investigate the causes, apparently contradictory in themselves, and endeavour to prove that the effects could

Affairs of Spain.

not be otherwise, connected as they were with their varied and untoward circumstances.

To collect sufficient data on which to form our judgment, we shall examine the state of affairs in the country we were about to succour, and the disposition of the people to whom we were to be allied.

General Dupont, with 14,000 men, having been compelled to surrender on the 19th of July, by Generals Castanos and Reding, near Andujar, in Andalusia, King Joseph found it expedient to quit Madrid, at the latter end of the same month, and to take the rout to Segovia. The capital of Arragon, Saragossa, had already compelled the enemy to retreat, with considerable loss, after sustaining a formidable attack from the French army. It is imagined that these reverses had cost the French so less than 40,000 men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners.

Such an heavy loss had induced their generals to retire beyond the Ebro ; taking up a concentrated position along the left bank of that river, and there they had to wait till they should receive succour across the Pyrenees.

It had been estimated that the whole force of the French in Spain, did not exceed 45,000 men ; but it was sufficiently evident, that previously to the 26th of October, they found themselves sufficiently in strength to act offensively ; and their first operation was the surrounding and taking prisoners a column of 1200 Spaniards

The whole Spanish force was embodied in their armies. The army of Arragon, under the command of Generals Palafox and Castanos, formed the right ; that of Estramadura, under Cuesta, composed the centre : whilst the combined armies of Gallicia and Asturia, reinforced by the Marquis de la Romana's troops from the Baltic, amounting to 8671 men, formed the left wing.

Character of the Juntas.

The first grand operation seems to have been directed by the French towards General Blake, who was defeated, after a series of actions, on the 31st of October, near Sonronosa, whence he had retired to Valmeseda, and afterwards to Espinosa de los Monteros. At Valmeseda an action took place on 5th of November, attended with a partial degree of success to the Spanish army ; but having been again attacked by the French, at Espinosa on the 10th and 11th, their left wing gave way, and the French gained possession of a height commanding the road by which Blake was obliged to desile ; the Spanish army had, consequently, been totally defeated ; though Blake in his dispatches to the Central Junta, had extolled the bravery and fortitude of his troops, they seem to have been in a most deplorable state ; for, according to those dispatches, they were stated to have had neither clothes nor food ; though they had been for the preceding five days constantly harassed by an enemy much their superior both in discipline and numbers.

The conduct of the Junta, composed, as they were, of men whose narrow capacities and abilities would have disgraced those of the commonest constable in England, did not in the least tend to further any favourable prospects to the troops of Great Britain. Their incapacity, selfishness, and intriguing spirit were universal ; their unpopularity had increased in all classes of Spaniards ; and indeed the assertion, "that from their selfish and extravagant conduct had arisen the calamities of their country," seemed to be well founded.

Such a degrading conduct exhibited by those who were appointed to govern, could produce no salutary influence on the governed ; they were enclosed in stupid wonder, and they regarded with equal *sang froid*, the

Disputes between the British and Spaniards.

French who had determined to destroy them and their British Allies who had come to relieve and protect them. Nay, so far had this humour possessed the people, that "a commotion had almost taken place in Ciudad Rodrigo, in consequence of the British soldiers having requested a little salt from the people on whom they were billeted. I dare say," continues Dr. Neale, who relates this anecdote, "you will feel some difficulty in giving credit to this fact, which is, however, a real one."

From such a situation it was easily to be seen what was likely to be the local condition of the British army in Spain; for though we had permitted ourselves to be buoyed up by flattering and exaggerated accounts of the disposition of those for whom we had asked so much to assist, we felt ourselves the more mortified at the severe disappointments we daily experienced.

This, however, requires some qualification. Having no occasion to say any thing in extenuation of the conduct of the Juntas, who from their jealous, we had almost added traitorous, behaviour had increased the distresses of their country, we will take upon us to assert that had the general voice been attended to, such a fatal catastrophe would not have occurred: for though the Spaniards have been accused not only of apathy and indifference towards the cause of their rightful Sovereign, but of absolute hostility towards our troops,* particularly the inhabitants of Benevente, Toro, Astorga, and Villa Franca, &c. this only occurred to petty disputes which occasionally took place between the British soldiers and the inhabitants of some of the towns, but they were by no

* Campaign in Spain, 212

Apology for the Spaniards.

no means of a serious nature, or deserving the appellations with which they were branded.

“ It is undeniable, that, on many occasions, where provisions and other necessaries were expected to have been cheerfully and abundantly supplied by the inhabitants of towns through which the British troops marched, that little or none could be obtained on any terms whatever. This, however, did not originate, as has been erroneously asserted, in any dislike of the Spaniards to the English, but merely from the extreme distress in which they were themselves involved. Great numbers of the cattle had been driven to the mountains for security against the rapacity of the French; and their stores of other provisions were almost exhausted by supplies for their countrymen in arms; and, as the operations in agriculture were in a great measure suspended, they had a dismal prospect to look forward to for future exigencies. Such circumstances of course rendered these poor unfortunate persons (exposed to all the calamities of a residence on the theatre of war, of which an adequate idea can scarcely be formed by any one but an eye-witness), reluctant to part with the slender pittance in their possession.

“ To the above may be added, that the unexpected retreat of the British army increased all their apprehensions in an eminent degree, whilst its sudden appearance in their towns precluded the possibility of the inhabitants supplying themselves from the adjacent country with the articles required. The total ignorance of the Spanish language on the part of the English soldiers, and *vice versa*, also occasioned mutual misunderstandings, which were in a few instances attended with disagreeable consequences. Another cause why the expectations of the British army as to receiving requisite accommodations

Their distressed situation.

and assistance from the Spaniards were so frequently disappointed was the immense numbers of their sick and wounded countrymen, who were flocking from the seats of war in the different quarters of the kingdom towards their respective homes, with whom the towns were continually crowded. The situation and wretched appearance of these unfortunate people were truly pitiable, those unable to walk were conveyed on cars, whilst others through hunger, sickness, and fatigue, scarcely able to crawl, were compelled to make their way on foot, almost naked, and generally without shoes or stockings. Even in the Spanish hospitals and other places set apart for the reception of the sick and wounded, the unhappy patients were nearly destitute of every requisite to sustain existence, not to say of the conveniences and comforts necessary for their condition. Some judgment may be formed of their distresses, from the circumstance of one poor man, who, according to the interpretation of my native servant, asserted that he had been fourteen days without any other sustenance than a little bad wine, and sometimes a small quantity of broth made of vegetables and oil. Indeed, his appearance fully established the veracity of his statement.* This is the description of an eye witness, and on such testimony we surely ought to rely. The same writer proceeds to give a very amiable trait of the British character, in the conduct of our soldiers, though suffering themselves many of the greatest privations —

* In many instances the British soldiers, with that liberality, feeling and generosity, which are equally their characteristics as spirit intrepidity, and courage, would share with these miserable objects their own scanty pittance, the deprivation of which they must have felt most severely.

Shocking State of the wounded.

"I met a great number of sick and wounded Spaniards on my journey *from* Corunna, particularly between Lugo and Villa França, escorted by armed men, scarcely in a better condition than those under their care. The officers and men exhibited similar appearances of wretchedness and intense fatigue; and the whole advanced at a rate of not more, on an average, than a mile an hour. Some of these men on being asked what was the matter with them, replied: 'Muchas Enfermos tengo hambre, ango mucha sed,' which is in English, 'very sick, very hungry, and very dry.' And on giving them a piece of bread, they expressed themselves thus: 'I thank you for it, and may you live many years!' Should this statement require confirmation, I can, with confidence, appeal to almost every officer of the British Army, most of whom must have witnessed similar scenes during their service in Spain."*

Respecting the use made of the cars drawn by oxen, a more inconvenient, ill-constructed, clumsy carriage, cannot be well conceived. The body of the carriage is merely a platform of rough boards, which is placed on two wheels, rather lower than the front ones of an English waggon, composed of pieces of timber, pinned together, and secured by others nailed across; these do not revolve on the axle-tree, but are fastened to it, the whole of which turns in grooves sometimes secured with iron. The pole passing between the oxen, is fastened to a yoke bound to their horns, so that the poor animals draw by the head, or rather it may be said, that they push the machine forwards.

The shocking inconvenience of such a jolting conveyance for sick and wounded persons may be easily con-

* Milburne's Narrative; v. 88.

Various Instances of Kindness.

ceived, added to which, the noise they make is the most disagreeable possible, the revolution of the axle trees producing a kind of humming monotonous sound, something similar to the drone of a bagpipe, which may be heard at the distance of a mile, or upwards

We think it right to pursue our Observations in the words of Mr Milburne —

“ Having accompanied the escort who were in charge of the money for the use of the army from Corunna to Astorga, I had opportunities of observing the method adopted for the transportation of the military equipage; and which, in my humble opinion, in a great measure accounts for the loss that was sustained, as nothing could be worse calculated to facilitate dispatch. In making this observation I am far from intending to attach the slightest imputation of neglect on any gentleman of the Commissariat Department, as I am sensible they had uncommon difficulties to encounter in the discharge of their official duties, and indeed I do not feel myself competent to decide

“ Notwithstanding the bigotry and hatred of heretics usually ascribed to the Roman Catholic priests, I with pleasure observed, that these persons on all occasions appeared extremely anxious to do every thing in their power to promote the comfort, and contribute to the accommodation of the sick and wounded of the British army. Many English officers were greatly indebted to the hospitality and kindness of Spanish monks and friars who (though by no means in possession of an abundance of the good things of this life) were emulous to share their stores with the distressed

“ An instance of goodness and humanity in one of these clerical gentlemen, which I am about to relate will

Mores of Life different from the English.

place the sentiments and conduct of this class of men in the most favourable point in view. My servant being extremely ill, I procured him admission into a room which was occupied by an English serjeant and his family at Lugo; but, having neither bedding nor covering, a benevolent monk instantly offered to supply him with his own, which he accordingly brought from his cell.

“The manners, customs, and mode of living in Spain are so widely different from those of England, that every candid and liberal-minded person should make great allowances for these circumstances, in forming an estimate of the sentiments and dispositions of the inhabitants; more especially at a period during which they were exposed to such vicissitudes, privations, and distresses, as might rationally be presumed to have a material influence on the natural bias of their temper, which has ever been allowed to be ‘*noble, generous, and humane.*’

“Englishmen are so accustomed to the enjoyment of every comfort and accommodation in their own country, that they feel more sensibly than the inhabitants of other nations the difficulties and inconveniences to which they are under the necessity of submitting to in their visits to the Continent. There is no country in Europe perhaps so well calculated to conquer British prejudices as Spain; the hardships and privations the traveller must sustain, in a short period, inuring him to the patient endurance of what cannot possibly be avoided. The passados or inns, except a few in the principal towns, are, generally speaking, little better than hovels, affording shelter from the inclemency of the weather, but scarcely any thing else. The beds are commonly heaps of straw, usually well stocked with inhabitants of a sable hue; and in lieu of sheets, blankets, and quilt, the traveller must depend on

Unorth Mode of Travelling

his own cloak or clothing for covering during the period of his redose.

“ The difference of travelling post in Spain and in England is very striking, and I cannot but feel surprised that the Spaniards, who are naturally extremely intelligent and acute, should not have profited by the inventions of their neighbours in this particular. The post carriages are exactly similar, at this period, to those described by the ingenious author of *Gil Blas*; clumsy and inconvenient. They have only two wheels, and have some resemblance to an old-fashioned English one-horse chaise, with curtains in front. Mules are generally used for drawing these carriages. In one particular the Spanish posting possesses a decided preference to that in England, as there is no possibility of the traveller being imposed upon. The rates are fixed by the Government, and heavy penalties annexed to a deviation from them.

“ As to their cookery, nothing can possibly be more disgusting to an English palate, most of their favourite dishes being seasoned with articles, amongst which garlic and rancid oil generally compose the principal ingredients. Custom, however, easily reconciles these matters to a person possessed of a common portion of energy and fortitude of mind, and he is amply recompensed by the interesting and sublime scenes, which the traverse of any part of the peninsula affords him numerous opportunities of contemplating.

“ Immense bodies of armed men marching through the country in every direction, and the glorious and important struggle in which they are engaged, for the preservation of every thing that is or ought to be dear to humanity, at the present momentous era, renders Spain an object peculiarly interesting.”

Their Disloyalty misrepresented.

Many people in this country were of opinion that the animation and ardour stated to exist amongst the Spaniards on behalf of their legitimate sovereign, was merely imaginary, and only to be found in the higher classes of society ; and indeed it is certain that nothing could be more artful and judicious than the means adopted by Bonaparte to reconcile the lower orders to the change of government he proposed. The abolition of the inquisition, feudal rights, and unequal taxation, were the rewards he offered to the community at large for their submission to the authority of Joseph Napoleon ; and therefore it is by no means surprising that some of the common people, who seldom reason upon circumstances but as they immediately affect themselves, should be induced to look with indifference upon the operations of the Corsican usurper. At this period it was supposed, however, that nine-tenths of the Spaniards were still loyal to the unfortunate House of Bourbon ; and out of forty provinces of which the kingdom of Spain is composed, no more than three had been accused of lukewarmness in the cause of Ferdinand the Seventh. As this might be considered the true state of the case, it was fairly inferred, that the cause of patriotism in Spain was not wholly desperate, and therefore it was hoped that the zealous co-operation of the British Government would not be withheld in consequence of the temporary advantages that had recently been gained by the Gallic despot.

As to the necessity and advantage of rescuing Spain from the grasp of her sanguinary ambitious usurper, there could be but one sentiment ; the justice of the measure was unquestionable. Not only the national honour so solemnly pledged by the Sovereign and the Parliament of Great Britain, and the sympathy which the unmerited

Interest of Great Britain to assist Spain.

sufferings of the Spanish people must naturally excite in every humane heart, but even our interest must have encouraged us to persevere in the most vigorous efforts to assist them. That our interest was concerned in persevering to lend the Spaniards all the aid in our power, there could be no doubt of, for should Bonaparte have succeeded in his designs of subjugating all the continent of Europe, the invasion of Britain would certainly be the next object of his ambition, and, although our insular situation, and other incidental circumstances, might have hitherto preserved us from the visitation of war, and its concomitant calamities, it was still within the verge of possibility that such an event might happen.

From such a sketch as this might reasonably be imagined the situation of the British army in Spain. A country desolate and unproductive, a people oppressed by various kinds of tyranny, by invasion, and without human sustenance, careless of the adventures of the day, equally careless of friends and enemies, and therefore inactive for their own preservation. The treacherous conduct also of the infamous Morla, urged sufficient motives to unnerve any compact, however firmly connected.

To all these unsavourable circumstances was to be added the defeat of Cuesta at Burgos. The French were particularly strong in cavalry. A reconnoitering party of 1200 men had entered Valladolid, and levied contributions, the country flat and open, the whole of the British cavalry, except two troops which had left Lisbon, having gone with general Hope, by the way of Badajos may altogether furnish some idea of the situation of Sir John Moore¹—Ignorant of the real force or movements of the enemy, serious apprehensions began to be entertained, lest the French should intercept General Hope's

Vindication of Sir John Moore.

division, the head of which was at the Escurial on the 21st of October ; and as all the British artillery, excepting one brigade, accompanied that division, should any accident have happened to it, the whole British force would have been in the most dreadful dilemma.

It has been thought, that Sir John Moore did not display his usual circumspection, in thus suffering any separation of his artillery from the main body of his army. They could not have been brought by the same road that his division of the army marched. But it has been alleged, that General Hope's division ought to have been stronger. Those who have traversed the wilds of Spain seem to think very differently. The sudden change of affairs in that country, however, appears never to have been calculated upon, either by the British commander-in-chief, or even by the Spaniards themselves ; our whole march having been arranged under the impression that the Spanish armies would have held together, and covered the union of Generals Baird and Hope's divisions, with the centre under Sir John Moore. No blame, therefore, could with justice attach either to the projectors or planners of this part of the expedition, except, indeed, we were willing to squabble with improbability, and quarrel with a circumstance because it had unfortunately happened.

Such unpropitious disarrangements of all his measures induced Sir John Moore to imagine, that he had arrived in a country in which there was no energy nor alacrity ; where every thing was "dead, flat, stale, and unprofitable ;" and where, though the patriotic cockade was worn by every muleteer, yet the impressions of fear would induce those muleteers to throw the British into confusion, by fleeing away with their mules, and conveying

Retreat of the English Army

with them the baggage, and other necessaries, with which they were entrusted. This happened once or twice.

The ultimatum of all this was a resolution of Sir John Moore to retreat upon Corunna, and, if possible, to secure his retreat without hazarding a battle. But so uncertain was every measure now taken, from the dismal aspect of affairs, that though, on the 23rd of December, orders had been issued by the commander in chief, for the whole British army to proceed from Sahagun to attack the enemy's posts at the bridge of Carrion, and the whole army were in the highest spirits on the occasion, and had begun their march, counter orders were suddenly issued for them to return to their quarters, which threw a damp on both officers and men. This arose from an officer's arrival from the marquis De la Romana, with a letter to Sir John Moore, just as he was about to mount his horse, importing that "the French were rapidly advancing from Madrid, to cut off our retreat at Benevente, and that the force under Marshal Soult, which was at first stated to be about 16,000, now amounted to upwards of 20,000, and that large reinforcements were on their march to join them at Palencia." The British had, therefore, not a moment to lose, but to commence their retreat towards Astorga as quickly as possible. The movement of Sir John Moore was of great service, for it served to divert Bonaparte from his march towards Burgos and the frontiers of Portugal, and had the Spaniards been enabled to make any exertions in Andalusia and Aragon, now would have been their time, but all energy was at an end, the population and the armies were absconding in all quarters, and their unfortunate allies had no remedy, but to seek safety from

Brilliant Action of Lord Paget.

being surrounded, by securing, as they did, a brave and heroic retreat. Sir John Moore, in this, as well as in all his other transactions, shewed no feelings but for his country: he looked to posterity and his own self-satisfaction for applause, and posterity will not disappoint him of what is so justly his due.

Urged on by the rapid advances of Bonaparte, with an army of 32,000 infantry and 8000 cavalry, besides the whole disposal force of the French army, Sir John Moore was convinced of his inability to withstand such an immensely superior force, yet he hoped and was desirous to defend Gallicia; but, prevented by the forced marches of the French, he still was unwilling to give himself into the purpose of entirely abandoning the defence of Spain. But all was a perfect blank!—the French were in pursuit of the British, and the Spaniards were as quiet as though they were mere neutral spectators!

No option now remained.—Sir John found it absolutely necessary to continue his retreat. We have already mentioned the brilliant action of Lord Paget, with the French cavalry, assisted by Bonaparte's Imperial guards, at Astorga; we have no occasion, therefore, to dilate on that heroic affair, any further than to add, that had any kind of co-operation taken place between the Spaniards and their generous allies, no doubt but that the reverses of the British army might have been remedied, and that they might have been enabled to make a formidable stand against the whole force of Bonaparte and all his marshals, till further assistance could have arrived from Britain. Much might have been expected from a union of efforts, by what was accomplished single-handed. But

Cruelty of the French Cavalry.

all was apathy and disorganization. The period for the salvation of Spain had not yet arrived.

.....

CHAPTER IV.

THE French were now in the rear of the British, acting the most merciless outrages towards the unhappy stragglers who fell in their way. Those miserable wretches were most dreadfully hacked, cut, and slashed by the French cavalry. For four or five miles, the French dragoons galloped up the road, cutting and slashing, on each side, the poor devoted beings to slaughter, who were unable to move out of their way, oppressed by fatigue and sickness, and perhaps overwhelmed with liquor, which they had imprudently imbibed, to sustain the languid embers of nature.

We must take into the scale of our account, that Sir John Moore, with a small army, and the assistance, or rather incumbrance of men half-famished and half-clothed, had to oppose the efficiency of an immense army, equally distinguished for talent, vigour, and promptitude. A typhus fever also, at that time, affected the few stragglers who were with the Marquis De la Romana; and this, though he had now joined the British, rendered his service quite ineffectual; and all the study of the British Medical Staff was to prevent a general fever from infecting the whole army; this, however, was happily

Observations on the Campaign in Spain and Portugal.

effected, by the removal of the hospital; for the behaviour of the French during this campaign, headed as they were by a ferocious and malignant commander, who was determined, if possible, to "drive the English into the sea," did not encourage a hope that there was a remnant of chivalry left, as had formerly been the case, in our former wars with France, to leave our hospitals to the humanity of so debased an enemy.

Surrounded by dangers, embittered by privations, and harassed in every quarter by a pursuing and inveterate army, the British forces arrived at Corunna, at which place Sir John Moore determined to receive the enemy, and made the necessary dispositions. The events of that important action are already before our readers.—Great Britain was deprived of the valuable life of the commander-in-chief, and of the essential services he might have rendered to his country on future occasions.

The observations of Dr. Neale,* upon this campaign and the retreat of the British, are well worthy our attention: they are written very dispassionately, and we are therefore justified in inserting them, as the evidence of a gentleman, who accompanied the expedition through all its stages. He says:

"The campaign having now terminated, many of our officers speak very freely of the want of military talent displayed in the retreat, as conducted by Sir John Moore. You cannot expect that I should undertake to put you in possession of all the arguments used on both sides. I foresee, however, that the rapidity of our march will hereafter be censured, and that it will be necessary for Sir John's friends to prove the absolute necessity of so

* Letters on the Operations of the Armies in Portugal and Spain, p. 330. in seq.

Observations on the Campaign in Spain and Portugal

much haste, in order to justify his memory from some degree of blame, at least three-fourths, if not four-fifths, of the loss which we have sustained, is to be attributed to that cause. I have already told you of our situation with regard to provisions. Of *animal* food, you will observe, there was no want, and many officers think, that after having retired to Villa Franca del Bierzo, it was quite impossible for the French to get in our rear, and that a stand ought to have been made at that place. The event has proved, that Spain was not to be quitted without an engagement.

" The army are unanimous in expressing their satisfaction that one took place, as it was necessary to redeem the honour of the country, but even here there is something like a doubt expressed, as to the measures adopted by the commander-in-chief. You know that there are two hills near Corunna, differing both in height and extent. The larger and higher was occupied by the French on the 15th, on that nearer to Corunna was posted our army. Now it is said, that Sir John Moore might have prevented the enemy from occupying the hill, and erecting his batteries on it, had he brought up the Spanish mortars from the defence of the town, and annoyed him by a smart shower of shells, of which there was an abundance in Corunna. I know not how this assertion can be answered, unless by alleging, that our army was not found sufficiently numerous to occupy the great hill, as had, indeed, been at first intended.

" All these points will, no doubt, be freely discussed by those who are competent to the task; for nothing can be more absurd than the maxim, "*de mortuis nil nisi bonum.*" The discussion, indeed, of the faults and oversights, as well as the great actions of public men, will

Responsible situation of Sir John Moore.

high importance to the welfare of society. The actors themselves, when placed within the narrow limits of the tomb, are, of course, indifferent to the agitation of such questions ; but their relations are interested in the preservation of their fame, and will justify it by any means in their power.

“ As to myself, I possess neither talents nor information for entering upon the consideration of a question purely military. I think that Sir John Moore was not a little unlucky, in having to deal first with a madman in Sweden, and then with a set of irresolute politicians and fanatics in Spain. It was next to impossible that he could escape from the dilemma in which he was placed, without incurring, from one party or other, a certain degree of obloquy. He was placed in a situation the most awfully responsible that any British general has yet occupied. Commanding a divided force, in the midst of a country to which himself and his whole army, I may say, were entire strangers—in an open plain, surrounded by an enemy, amply provided with cavalry—opposed by that man too, who, from his superior fortune and military genius, seems destined and fitted to direct all the nations of the continent, it was next to impossible that he could gratify the sanguine expectations of his country.

“ He had, therefore, but a choice of difficulties. Having made his election, he had to encounter the whole power of the enemy, brought against him from various points. He was aware of the promise which Napoleon had made to the Parisians, that “ he would present to them the remains of the gaily-dressed English.” He was therefore justified in expecting, that every possible exertion would be used, by that wonderful man, to

Character of Sir John Moore.

fulfil his promise ; in attempting which, however, he has fortunately failed.

" The question then is narrowed to this point : was it necessary for our commander-in-chief to hurry his army by such severe forced marches, through a country, perhaps the strongest in Europe. If this necessity be proved, the character of Sir John Moore, distinguished as it already is for manly sense, patriotism, and an uncommon share of military knowledge, will be further ennobled by the recollection, that having been destined to fill the most arduous of all stations, he fell in the arms of victory, after conducting a most difficult retreat, pursued by the conqueror of Europe, and the whole elite of the French army."

Notwithstanding the official dispatches of the gallant general who succeeded to the command of the army in Spain (which has justly been considered a master-piece of military arrangement and perspicuity,) in consequence of the death of Sir John Moore, and the wound of Sir David Baird, has so long been before the public, it is presumed the introduction of an extract therefrom in this place will not be considered impertinent. Indeed, it is impossible to dwell too long on a subject so interesting, or to repeat too often a publication which reflects equal honour on the head and heart of the accomplished friend and successor of the lamented general by whom it is written :

" His fall (says General Hope) has deprived me of a valuable friend, to whom long experience of his worth had sincerely attached me. But it is chiefly on public grounds that I must lament the blow.

" It will be the conversation of every one who loved

General Orders of the British Army.

or respected his manly character, that after conducting the army through an arduous retreat with consummate firmness, he has terminated a career of distinguished honour, by a death that has given the enemy additional reason to respect the name of a British soldier. Like the immortal Wolfe, he is snatched from his country at an early period of life spent in her service ; like Wolfe, his last moments were gilded by the prospect of success, and cheered by the acclamation of victory ; like Wolfe, also, his memory will for ever remain sacred in that country which he sincerely loved, and which he had so faithfully served."

The general orders to the army issued by Lieutenant-general Hope are equally entitled to admiration, as the foregoing extract from his letter to Sir David Baird ; and as they record the particular merits of the officers and army during the service on which they were employed in Spain, cannot, with propriety, be omitted.

GENERAL ORDERS.

His Majesty's ship Audacious, January 18, 1809.

" The irreparable loss that has been sustained by the fall of the commander of the forces, and the severe wound which has removed Sir David Baird from his station, render it the duty of Lieutenant-general Hope to congratulate the army upon the successful result of the action of the 16th.

" On no occasion has the undaunted valour of British troops ever been more manifest. At the termination of a severe and harassing march, rendered necessary by the superiority of numbers which the enemy had acquired, and which had materially impaired the efficiency of

Merit of the British Officers

the troops, many disadvantages were to be encountered

"These have all been surmounted by the troops themselves, and the enemy has been taught, that whatever advantages of position of numbers he may employ, there is inherent in the British officer and soldier, a bravery that *knows not how to yield*, that *no circumstances can appal*, and that will insure victory, when it is to be obtained by the exertion of any human means

"The Lieutenant general has the greatest satisfaction in distinguishing such meritorious services as come within his observation, or have been brought to his knowledge

"His acknowledgments are in a manner particularly due to Major general Lord William Bentinck and the brigade under his command, consisting of the 4th, 42ad, and 50th regiments, and which sustained the weight of the attack.

"Major-general Manningham, with his brigade, consisting of the Royals, the 26th, and 81st regiment, and Major-general Warde, with the brigade of Guards, will also be pleased to accept his best thanks for their steady and gallant conduct during the action.

"To Major-general Paget, who, by a judicious movement of the reserve, effectually contributed to check the progress of the enemy on the right, and to the first battalions of the 52nd and 95th regiments, which were thereby engaged, the greatest praise is justly due

"That part of Major-general Leith's brigade which were engaged, consisting of the 59th regiment, under the conduct of the Major general, also claims marked of probation

"The enemy not having rendered the attack on the

Encomium on Sir John Moore.

left a serious one, did not afford to the troops stationed in that quarter, the opportunity of displaying that gallantry which must have made him repent the attempt. The picquets and advanced posts, however, of the brigade, under Major-generals Hill and Leith, and Colonel Catlin Crawford, conducted themselves with determined resolution, and were ably supported by the officers commanding the brigades, and by the troops of which they are composed.

“ It is peculiarly incumbent on the Lieutenant-general to notice the vigorous attack made by the 2d battalion of the 14th regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Nicholl, which drove the enemy out of the village on the left, of which he had for a moment possessed himself.

“ The exertions of Lieutenant-colonel Murray, Quarter-master-general, and the other officers of the General Staff, during the action, were unremitting, and deserve every degree of approbation.

“ The illness of Brigadier-general Clinton, Adjutant-general, unfortunately deprived the army of the benefit of his services.

“ The Lieutenant-general hopes the loss in point of numbers is not so considerable as might have been expected. He laments, however, the fall of the gallant soldiers and valuable officers who have suffered.

“ He knows that it is impossible, in any language he can use, to enhance the esteem, or diminish the regret, that the army feels in common with him for its late commander. His career has been unfortunately too limited for his country, but has been sufficient for his own fame. Beloved by the Army, honoured by his Sovereign, and respected by his country, he has terminated a life devoted

Elegant Tribute to the Memory of Sir John Moore.

to her service by a glorious death, leaving his name as a memorial, an example, and an incitement to those who shall follow him in the path of honour; and it is from his country alone, that his memory can receive the tribute which is its due."

The following elegant tribute of the illustrious Commander-in-chief, to the memory of Sir John Moore, by his general orders of the first of February, is truly deserving of record.

GENERAL ORDERS.

" The benefits derived to our army from the example of a distinguished commander, do not terminate at his death: his virtues live in the recollection of his associates, and his fame remains the strongest incentive to great and glorious actions.

" In this view, the Commander-in-chief, amidst the deep and universal regret which the death of Lieutenant-general Sir John Moore has occasioned, recalls to the troops the military career of that illustrious officer for their instruction and imitation.

" Sir John Moore, from his youth, embraced the profession with the feelings and sentiments of a soldier; he felt, that a perfect knowledge, and an exact performance of the humble but important duties of a subaltern officer, are the best foundations for subsequent military fame; and his ardent mind, while it looked forward to those brilliant achievements for which it was formed, applied itself, with energy and exemplary assiduity, to the duties of that station.

" In the school of regimental duty, he obtained that correct knowledge of his profession so essential to the

Military Character of Sir John Moore.

proper direction of the gallant spirit of the soldier ; and he was enabled to establish a characteristic order and regularity of conduct, because the troops found in their leader a striking example of the discipline which he enforced on others.

“ Having risen to command, he signalized his name in the West Indies, in Holland, and in Egypt. The unremitting attention with which he devoted himself to the duties of every branch of his profession, obtained him the confidence of Sir Ralph Abercromby, and he became the companion in arms of that illustrious officer, who fell at the head of his victorious troops, in an action which maintained our national superiority over the arms of France.

“ Thus Sir John Moore at an early period obtained, with general approbation, that conspicuous station, in which he gloriously terminated his useful and honourable life.

“ In a military character, obtained amidst the dangers of climate, the privations incident to service, and the sufferings of repeated wounds, it is difficult to select any one point as a preferable subject for praise : it exhibits, however, one feature so particularly characteristic of the man, and so important to the best interests of the service, that the commander-in-chief is pleased to mark it with his peculiar approbation.

“ The life of Sir John Moore was spent among the troops.

“ During the season of repose, his time was devoted to the care and instruction of the officer and soldier ; in war, he courted service in every quarter of the globe. Regardless of personal considerations, he esteemed that to which his country called him, the post of honour, and

A Monument erected to the memory of Sir John Moore.

by his undaunted spirit, and unconquerable perseverance, he pointed the way to victory.

"His country, the object of his latest solicitude, will rear a monument to his lamented memory; and the commander-in-chief feels he is paying the best tribute to his fame by thus holding him forth as an example to the army.

"By order of his royal highness the commander-in-chief,

" HARRY CALVERT.

"Horse Guards, Feb. 1, 1809."

The campaign in the Peninsula, though it did not altogether accomplish its object, was honourable to Sir John Moore, his colleagues, and the British arms; for the battle of Corunna will form a brilliant era in the annals of British history. The memory of Sir John Moore will ever be held in due veneration; and the heroes who accompanied him, either in life or in death, may vie with those of Marathon, Thermopylae, or Mantinea, for the palm of well-earned and unsading glory.

His body was first inclosed in a tomb on the rampart of the citadel of Corunna: but the Marquis Do la Romana, grateful for his services, and proud of his name, reared a monument to his memory, after having removed the remains of the lamented hero, from the obscure place in which it had been deposited, to a more conspicuous situation.

The following inscription was placed on the monument:
[On one side.]

"A LA GLORIA DEL GENERAL INGLES
MOORE, Y SUS VALIENTES COMPATRI-
OTAS, LA ESPANA AGRADECIDA."

Bonaparte's Address to the Legislative Body.

[translated]

"To the glory of the English General MOORE, and his valiant Countrymen, the gratitude of Spain."

[*On the other side.*]

"MEMORIA DEL DIA 16 DE ENERO, 1809."

[translated]

"Memory of the Action of the 16th of January, 1809."

On the 8th of February, 1809, a subscription was opened in Glasgow, for erecting a monument to the memory of the late General Sir John Moore, K. B. when 1500*l.* was immediately subscribed for that purpose; and next day being a national fast, his fellow-citizens attended divine service in mourning.

CHAPTER V.

ALTHOUGH the British arms had received a serious check; although one of its most brilliant and able commanders had been sacrificed to a seemingly hopeless cause; the enemy gained no advantage, either in honour or territory.

Bonaparte had threatened, in his address to the Legislative Body on the 25th of October, 1808, that "in a few days he would put himself at the head of his armies, to crown, *with God's assistance*, in Madrid, the King of Spain, and to plant his eagles on the towers of Lisbon."

Cordonation of Joseph Bonaparte

He was well acquainted with the imbecility of the unhappy Spanish nation : he had deprived it of its rightful king, whom he had imprisoned, he had planted his emissaries to disorganize the country, to sow factions among its dismembered councils, to deprecate its power and resources, and, under such impressions, to offer a freedom which he never intended, but to plant tyranny in Madrid in the person of his brother Joseph. This, he considered, he might easily accomplish, and therefore Joseph, towards the end of January, 1809, was crowned king of Spain and the Indies, having been previously acknowledged and proclaimed in many of the principal towns throughout the country, none but the provinces of Arragon, Murcia, Granada, and Andalusia having sufficient virtue left to condemn the deceit put upon them, and to counteract the imposition of the French ruler. It was thus that Napoleon substantiated the first part of his declaration. To accomplish the remaining part he found to be not so easy, and very serious obstacles abtruded themselves to frustrate his gigantic designs.

The assistance of the Almighty Disposer of events had been compromised by this Colossus of warfare, who, without opposition, was to plant his eagles on the towers of Lisbon, but the God of armies was not to be so bargained with, he had permitted this "god upon earth" to domineer over mankind, to answer some inscrutable purpose but when this profane agent took upon himself to arrogate power equally with the Most Highest, the Almighty, in infinite mercy, to his suffering creatures, checked the presumption of this modern Typhoeus, and raised a memento of his omnipotence, which, at no distant period, should form a material part of that medium to administer the Divine vengeance, in

Advantages obtained over the French by the Spanish Patriots.

hurling from his blood-stained throne, a demagogue of no ordinary notoriety.

The brave British army had been compelled, by superiority of numbers, and through want of promised assistance, their enemy's army still increasing, to retreat to their ships, or, as Bonaparte ostentatiously asserted, "had been driven into the sea!" Sir John Moore, however, had not rendered the campaign ineffectual; his march had occasioned such a diversion in favour of the patriotic Spaniards, that they were enabled to recruit and re-organize the armies of General Palafox, the Duke del Infantado, the Marquis del Palacio, and General Cuesta. La Mancha, and part of Estramadura, which had been overrun by the French, were retaken by the brave patriots; vast numbers of towns in the south of Spain had been converted into depots for arms; and the French, dislodged from their positions in Catalonia, were compelled to retreat to Figueras and Roras, the last of which places had fallen into their hands at the close of the year 1808. The heroic inhabitants of Saragossa, the ancient Cæsar Augusta, bravely held out with unabated ardour and patience; and the important fortress of Gerona, in Catalonia, exhibited equal fortitude.

By pursuing the advantages he had obtained, no doubt can be entertained, however, but that Bonaparte, by pouring in fresh troops from France and from the whole continent of Europe, if necessary, would have effected the reduction of Lisbon, as well as the coronation of his brother Joseph. But though "his pride was unabated; though his malice was unassuaged; his devices were completely confounded." His attention was importunately demanded by the vast military preparations and movements of the Austrian army.

Jealousy between Austria and France

The Austrians, in common with the rest of Europe, who had felt the galling shackles of French slavery, inflicted by a Corsican Despot, very naturally deemed it expedient to make an effort to throw off the trammels of foreign servitude, and redeem, by a joint struggle, their national independence hand in hand with the Spaniards, supported by Great Britain, than, as they must inevitably have done singly-handed and alone, yield their necks to the yoke of Bonaparte, after the Spanish nation, though perhaps not finally or wholly subdued, should have been driven from all their cities and strong holds, and forced either to submit to the conquerors, or to take a temporary refuge in their mountainous fastnesses.

It had been long apparent to all the states of Europe, that considerable jealousy subsisted between Austria and France, and it had been also generally understood, and seriously believed, if the declarations of the French themselves were deserving of credit, that if the Prussians had been the conquerors at the battle of Jena, or that the allied armies of Prussia and Russia had been victors in Friedland, the Austrians would have made an effort to cut off the retreat of the French to the left bank of the Rhine, by rushing down from Bohemia to arrest their progress, and in consequence of this inclination to hostilities, a long correspondence was held between Champagny, the French minister for foreign relations, and Count Metternick, the Austrian ambassador at Paris.

Count Metternick, agreeably to the instructions he had received from Vienna, had continued, to the very eve of the commencement of hostilities, to protest in very strong terms, that the views of Austria were wholly pacific; but to those who are conversant in the practices

Bonaparte's Anxiety to incline the Austrians to Peace

of courts and their diplomacy, this duplicity is easily reconcileable.

Bonaparte, however, had more foresight than was agreeable to the views of the Austrians. "The views of the Emperor Francis," says he, "may be, and probably are wholly pacific; but there is a party of hot-headed young men in the Austrian territories, who are employed, with unceasing industry, to foment animosity, hatred, and war against France. This spirit is nourished, not only by conversations in public places, but by the publication of newspapers in different parts of the Austrian Emperor's dominions, and some of them even at Vienna. It is my decided opinion," adds he, "that although both Francis II. and those most in his confidence may be averse from war with France, yet if the movement given to public opinion and public spirit in the Austrian empire is not sincerely and vigorously checked and repressed by some contrary movement and impulsion, the general voice of that misguided and abused country will, sooner or later, involve in its rapid current both the emperor and all his court, and precipitate them to inevitable ruin. This salutary counteraction is to be effected only by a general disarming, and every encouragement to the pursuit, not of arms, but all the good arts of peace. What is Austria afraid of, that she hath carried her war establishment to such a monstrous extent beyond what it used to be, or was at all necessary in time of peace? Let me call to your remembrance my former moderation, that it was no part of my politics to overthrow or *greatly* to humble the house of Austria. If the presence of the French troops in the garrisons of Silesia created any alarm, they should be withdrawn; if French encampments in any part of Germany gave uneasiness to

Bonaparte's Return from Spain to Paris

the Emperor Francis, they should be broken up," and, indeed, by the tenor of all Bonaparte's expressions, it appears to have been with an extraordinary degree of earnestness and anxiety, that Bonaparte set himself to incline the Austrian government to peace.

The Austrian ministry, however, willing to parry off the circumspection, if possible, of Bonaparte, still protested "that their disposition was entirely pacific, and urged, as an explanatory defence of their vast military preparations, the formation of magazines, and the distribution of the Austrian troops, that the military establishment of their neighbours, and of every country of any weight in Europe, were augmenting in the same ratio, in proportion to their means, and the extent of territories to be occupied and defended." These pacific professions were continued, but so were also her measures of defiance and hostility. A secret correspondence was now discovered between the Spanish patriots and the Archduke Charles this induced Bonaparte to change his system of warfare. He returned from Spain to Paris on the 22nd of January, 1809, and his Imperial guard, amounting to 15,180, marched to join him as soon as possible.

CHAPTER VI

We now turn to what was transacting in Great Britain. The session of parliament was opened on Tuesday, January 19th, by the following speech, read in his Majesty's name by the Lord Chancellor:—

Speech of his Majesty to the Parliament.

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ We have it in command from his Majesty to state to you, that his Majesty has called you together, in perfect confidence that you are prepared cordially to support his Majesty in the prosecution of a war, which there is no hope of terminating safely and honourably, except through vigorous and persevering exertion.

“ We are to acquaint you, that his Majesty has directed to be laid before you, copies of the proposals for opening a negociation, which were transmitted to his Majesty from Erputh, and of the correspondence which thereupon took place with the government of Russia and of France ; together with the declaration issued by his Majesty’s command on the termination of that correspondence.

“ His Majesty is persuaded, that you will participate in the feelings which were expressed by his Majesty, when it was required, that his Majesty should consent to commence the negotiation by abandoning the cause of Spain, which he had so recently and solemnly espoused.

“ We are commanded to inform you, that his Majesty continues to receive from the Spanish government the strongest assurances of their determined perseverance in the cause of the legislative monarchy, and of the national independence of Spain ; and to assure you, that so long as the people of Spain shall remain true to themselves, his Majesty will continue to them his most strenuous assistance and support.

“ His Majesty has renewed to the Spanish nation, in the moment of its difficulties and reverses, the engagements which he voluntarily contracted at the outset of its struggle against the usurpation and tyranny of France ; and we are commanded to acquaint you, that these

Address to the House of Commons

engagements have been reduced into the form of a treaty of alliance ; which treaty, as soon as the ratifications shall have been exchanged, his Majesty will cause to be laid before you.

" His Majesty commands us to state to you, that while his Majesty contemplated with the liveliest satisfaction the achievements of his forces in the commencement of the campaign in Portugal, and the deliverance of the kingdom of his ally from the presence and oppressions of the French army, his Majesty most deeply regretted the termination of that campaign by an armistice and convention, of some of the articles of which his Majesty has felt himself obliged formally to declare his disapprobation.

" We are to express to you his Majesty's reliance on your disposition, to enable his Majesty to continue the aid afforded by his Majesty to the King of Sweden. That monarch derives a particular claim to his Majesty's support in the present exigency of his affairs, from having concurred with his Majesty in the propriety of rejecting any proposal for negociation, to which the government of Spain was not to be admitted as a party.

" Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

" We are commanded by his Majesty to inform you, that he has directed the estimates of the current year to be laid before you. His Majesty relies upon your zeal and affection, to make such further provisions of supply as the vigorous prosecution of the war may render necessary ; and he trusts that you may be enabled to find the means of providing such supply, without any great or immediate increase of the existing burdens upon his people.

" His Majesty feels assured it will be highly necessary

Animadversions on the Conduct of the Ministers.

to you to learn that, notwithstanding the measures resorted to by the enemy for the purpose of destroying the commerce and resources of his kingdom, the public revenue has continued in a course of progressive improvement.

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ We are directed to inform you, that the measure adopted by parliament in the last session, for establishing a local militia, has been already attended with the happiest success, and promises to be extensively and permanently beneficial to the country.

“ We have received his Majesty’s commands most especially to recommend to you, that duly weighing the immense interests which are at stake in the war now carrying on, you should proceed, with as little delay as possible, to consider of the most effectual measures for the augmentation of the regular army, in order that his Majesty may be better enabled, without impairing the means of defence at home, to avail himself of the military power of his dominions, in the great contest in which he is engaged ; and to conduct that contest, under the blessing of Divine Providence, to a conclusion compatible with the honour of his Majesty’s crown, and with the interest of his Allies, of Europe, and of the World.”

On the motion in the house of Lords, by the Earl of Bridgewater, seconded by Lord Sheffield, for an address of thanks to his Majesty, various animadversions on the conduct of ministers took place, imputing the whole failure of the expedition to their incapacity ; but, as in all such debates, assertion was endeavoured to be overruled by opposition ; faults were implied, but no specific remedy seemed to be suggested ; all appeared to be wrong, but none were willing to put right ;

Lord Castlereagh's speech.

thus censure having been very liberally dispensed, the proposed reproach was exploded by the majority for a vote of address.

In the House of Commons, in reply to remarks of several members of the opposition, Lord Castlereagh concluded a very animated speech as follows :—

"There were some persons who appeared to think, that an army once landed could act as speedily as a ship when it has left the port. The difference, however, was very great : the ship had nothing to do but to go with the wind, and meet the enemy ; whereas an army, when landed, had much difficulty in collecting provisions, and the means of transporting their necessary baggage. If the present administration were, however, to have waited till every thing was ready for the reception of our armies, they must have stood as still as the last vigorous administration, who actually did nothing while in office. He would venture to say, from the melancholy experience of the fate of General Blake's army, that if a British army had landed at St. Andero, and scrambled as far as General Blake advanced, none of them would ever have come back. He was convinced, that there was not a single military man, who would support the idea of a campaign in the Pyrenees for a British army.

"The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Ponsonby) had stated, that the expedition which had achieved the deliverance of Portugal, had been sent to sea to seek its fortunes, without any particular direction from government. The fact, however, was directly the reverse ; because, most unquestionably, the expedition under Sir Arthur Wellesley did sail with a most precise and determinate object. It had been ordered to go immediately to the Tagus, without stopping at Corunna. This direction

Lord Castlereagh's Speech.

was given in consequence of precise information from Sir Charles Cotton, (which, however, afterwards turned out to be confounded;) that there were no more than 5000 French troops in Lisbon, and the other forts upon the Tagus, and that Sir Arthur Wellesley's expedition would be sufficient to dislodge them. The expedition then had been sent out with precise instructions; but it would hardly be contended, that government should have tied up the hands and the discretion of such a meritorious officer as Sir Arthur Wellesley so completely as to say, that he must on no occasion take advantage of any favourable circumstances, which might occur in the varying and fleeting fortune of the war, without waiting until he had made a direct communication to government on the subject, and had received their answer. It appeared to him, that floating armies, under the command of trust-worthy officers, might be of great service; even when acting according to the circumstances of the times, without any particular directions from government; and he was confident, that in this manner the corps of General Spencer had been of considerable service in marching from Seville to Ayamonte, and stopping a portion of Junot's army that was coming to the relief of Dupont.

" As to the attacks which had been made upon him, for not having sent sufficient cavalry with the expedition, he was ready to strengthen the right honourable gentleman's argument, and to admit, that it was only by accident that any cavalry at all had been attached to it. It was not supposed that cavalry was a proper description of force to send with those floating expeditions, which might be a long time at sea before they found a favourable opportunity for landing. Some of the cavalry, however, which were in Portugal, had happened to come

Votes of Thanks to Sir Arthur Wellesley and other Generals

from the Mediterranean. He should always protest agaist the notion, that we were never to engage an enemy, unless we were equal or superior to him in cavalry. He would ask the house, Would they wish to blot out from the page of our history those brilliant victories, which we had gained when much inferior in cavalry? At the glorious battle of Alexandria, Sir Ralph Abercrombie had but 150 dragoons, and the French had 2400 cavalry, and at the battle of Munda, Sir John Stuart had no cavalry at all. In the expedition to Portugal, the government had made sufficient provision of cavalry. Our army would have been superior to the enemy in this respect, if the cavalry which was in Munda's Bay on the 20th (the day before the battle) had landed. The 18th dragoons were also very near. He would allow, however, that if Sir Arthur Wellesley had had the cavalry on that day, upon which he routed the French, the result of that victory would have been "still more glorious."

Various other strictures were made in the course of the debate, but the question being put, the motion was carried, and a committee appointed to prepare the address, and votes of thanks to Sir Arthur Wellesley were passed on the 25th of January, 1809, in both houses, which also passed votes of thanks to Generals Spence, Hill, Ferguson, Ackland, Nightingale, Fane, and Bowes, and the officers under their command, and a resolution, expressive of the approbation of parliament of the non-commissioned officers and privates at the battle of Vimiera, which Lord Castlereagh distinguished by the name of "immortal."

On the same day, in the House of Lords, the Earl of Liverpool moved the thanks of the house for the defeat

Speeches of the Earl of Moira and Lord Erskine.

before Corunna. The earl paid a high eulogium to the memory of the departed general ; "whose life," he said, "had been devoted to the service of his country ; for there was scarcely any action of importance, during the two last wars, in which he had not participated." After some observations on the difficulties encountered in the retreat, and the battle in which it terminated, and stating, that in wording the motion, the precedent of Egypt, in which the gallant Abercrombie fell, had been followed, his Lordship moved, "the thanks of the house to Lieutenant-general Sir David Baird, second in command of the army in Spain ; Lieutenant-general the Honourable John Hope, who took the command on Sir John Moore's receiving the wound, which terminated in his much-lamented death, and to the other officers employed."

All the lords who spoke on this occasion concurred heartily in this motion, bestowed the highest praise on the character and conduct of Sir John Moore, and deeply deplored his loss to the country.

But the Earl of Moira, in giving his concurrence, could not avoid asking ministers, "how it had happened that so heavy and lamentable a loss as that of Sir John Moore, and so great a proportion of his army, had been sustained, without any one object having been obtained except the embarkation of the army? British blood and treasure, and the invaluable lives of British officers and soldiers had been sacrificed to no purpose. To what but the ignorance and incapacity of ministers were all these calamities to be attributed?"

Lord Erskine too, "who felt as much for the fame of the immortal officer deceased as any of their lordships could possibly feel, (from peculiar or personal circumstances which he detailed) could not refrain from express-

Motion of Thanks to the Admirals and Seamen.

ing his indignation at such men, and that such resources as ours should have been utterly thrown away and lost by the total incapacity of those who had mis-directed their efforts."

Lord Grenville observed, that "they were called upon to vote thanks for a success followed by a retreat. The success belonged to the army and its commander; the retreat to those who sent them, and placed them in such a situation, that a safe retreat was the only thing that could be looked for. Ministers, for the folly of such conduct, must answer to their country."

Such were the modes of reproach, used, because, by mere unpropitious circumstances, a well-intended project had failed! Well might the Earl of Westmoreland, in reply, refer to the expeditions to Alexandria, to Constantinople, and to South America; and express his surprise, that "the noble lords opposite did not at those periods state, that all the blame of unfavourable military events was to be attributed—to ministers."

The motion was agreed to *nem. dis.* so also was a motion acknowledging and approving the services of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers; a motion of thanks to Rear-admiral De Courcy, and Sir Samuel Hood, and the other officers, for their assistance; and another acknowledging and approving the services of the seamen and marines on that occasion.

In the course of the same night, Lord Castlereagh, in his official capacity as minister at war, expressed his sorrow at the "loss of one of the ablest of our generals, possessing, in an eminent degree, every valuable quality that can dignify the man, and enhance the superiority of the soldier; at once in the prime of life, and the prime of professional desert; giving, in the evidence of his

Mr. Ponsonby's Motion in the House of Commons.

past life, the best assurance of what might be expected from his zeal, intrepidity, and talents." He concluded with the following motion: "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, requesting that a monument be erected in the cathedral of St. Paul, to the memory of the late Lieutenant-general Sir John Moore, Knight of the Bath; who, after an honourable and meritorious life, fell by a cannon-ball, in the action near Corunna, on the 16th of January, 1809, after having, by his judicious dispositions, skill, and gallantry, repulsed an enemy of superior force, and secured to the troops under his command a safe and unmolested embarkation."

The next business which attracted the attention of parliament, was Lord Henry Petty's motion, in the House of Commons, "for a resolution declaring, 1st, That the convention of Cintra, and a maritime convention, concluded, nearly at the same time, off the Tagus, had disappointed the hopes and expectations of the country; and 2ndly, That in the opinion of the House of Commons, those conventions had, in a great measure, arisen from the misconduct and neglect of his Majesty's ministers." This motion was lost by a majority of 50 in favour of the ministry:

But on the 24th of February, the subject of the campaign in Spain, which had been incidentally the object of remark in the House of Commons, was formally brought under the consideration of the house, as a motion by the Right Honourable George Ponsonby, "That it is indispensably necessary that this house should enquire into the causes, conduct, and events of the late campaign in Spain."

It is not intended in this work to enter into the comparative merits of the speakers on parliamentary questions,

Lord Castlereagh's Reply to Mr. Ponsonby.

neither our limits nor our inclination will allow us to enter minutely into their talents or the turn of their orations, more especially when there are volumes compiled, whence parliamentary debates may be amply collected; yet we should not, in justice to the task we have undertaken, omit such points as more evidently bear upon circumstances connected with our work, therefore we shall, without hesitation, state, that Lord Castlereagh contended against Mr. Ponsonby's accusative arguments, as follows

His Lordship observed, that "the only reason that had been alleged for the enquiry were reducible to the ignorance of the right honourable mover. And he did not think that that was, or had ever been, pretended to be a proper parliamentary ground for enquiry. As he could not bend to the cogency of this reason, he certainly should oppose the motion, though, at the same time, he declared, that had there been the slightest *prima facie* evidence to support it, he would have fully concurred in it. If the result of the campaign in Spain had not been as glorious as had been so earnestly and justly expected, whether owing to the imperfect state of discipline of the Spanish armies, or to the want of sufficient time to complete that discipline, still, he contended, that there was no *prima facie* ground for imputing the blame of that failure to his Majesty's ministers. The British army was intended only to act as an auxiliary force in aid of the Spanish armies; and surely the British government was not to be blamed because the Spanish forces, unhappily, had not been able to hold out till the arrival of the military succours that were sent out to their assistance from this country.

"It had been said, by Mr. Ponsonby, that govern-

Lord Castlereagh's Speech.

ment ought to have united to collect full information how far the spirit of liberty in the Spaniards went to the amelioration of their condition; how far the national feeling and public spirit of Spain were such as to justify ministers in hazarding a British military force in aid of its cause. How the honourable mover could reconcile this with his former admonition to "speed and celerity," it was not within the compass of his intellectual powers to discover.

"As to the selection of characters proper for reporting to government the real state and spirit of Spain, would it have been rational for ministers to listen to any man's opinion on that point before the formation of the central junto, which alone could decide on the views of Spain? And were they to leave Spain and Portugal to their destinies, till that event should have taken place? The only rational question was, Whether it could be hoped that Spain, with our assistance, would be enabled to stand against France? Spain had made an energetic effort. She had borne up against the military power of France with more vigour, more constancy, and better success, than those powers which had been supported by formidable regular armies. There had been many circumstances in the case of Spain to inspire a confident hope of its success. It was known that the popular rising was the simultaneous effort of the whole country. All the provinces had risen, he believed, within the space of five or six days. In the course of a very few months, they had collected an army in Andalusia, and obtained a most decided victory over the French under Dupont, at the memorable battle of Baylen, in which the Spanish army was little superior in number to the enemy. The

Lord Castlereagh's speech

Spaniards were so confident of their own strength, that when General Spencer applied to them, to know whether he should come to their assistance, they recommended his marching to the relief of Portugal. Saragossa, also, as well as Andalusia, presented a picture of encouragement. Nor had Leon been deficient; for at the battle of Rio Seco, the enemy had, by no means, the advantage they boasted of. The Spaniards had, in fact, obtained decided advantages, and would have effectually defeated the enemy, if they had had the benefit of cavalry to follow up their successes. What the Spanish army might have been expected to have done, if they had had sufficient cavalry, could be easily inferred from what they had done, when, in the course of six months, it succeeded in driving 100,000 men from the provinces they had occupied, and confined them to the left bank of the Ebro.

"With respect to the nature of the co-operation that was adopted by his Majesty's ministers, and the question, Whether it was the best that could be resorted to under all the circumstances of the case?" he observed, that "there were two extreme opinions on the subject, and a middle one. It was this intermediate opinion that had been adopted by his Majesty's ministers. One of the two other opinions was, that if Spain was really animated by the spirit of true patriotism, she had the elements of her own salvation within herself, and did not want British soldiers to fight her battles; that our co-operation needed not to go any further than supplies of money, arms, clothing, ammunition, and whatever other necessaries might be wanting. Then this opinion, he thought, nothing could be more unwise. Nothing could have tended more effectually to confirm that reproach which

Lord Castlereagh's Speech.

had been dealt out by the enemy against us, than that we should not, in this instance, have taken an active part ourselves.

" The other extreme was, that there was no medium between a great effort, and the greatest of which we were capable ; and that not a soldier should be kept at home. Without taking any notice of the effects that such a measure might produce at home, if our utmost efforts should be attended with disaster, the thing would be in itself impracticable. There was a limit beyond which ministers could not go. In short, they must necessarily keep within the limits of the national credit, and it was unnecessary to say any thing more in answer to this second extreme opinion, than that it was impossible to act upon it.

" The only question then was, Where the effort made by his Majesty's ministers was sufficient ? And this would be but judged of by considering it in a threefold relation ; first, as to its extent ; secondly, as to its course ; and thirdly, as to its ability.

" With regard to its extent, when information had been first received by his Majesty's ministers, that a supply of British troops was wished for, to act in concert with the native armies of Spain, there were sent, exclusive of the 10,000 men under the Marquis Romana, liberated in the North of Europe, no less a force than 45,000 or 50,000 men, nearly 50,000 rank and file into the Peninsula. Besides this army, government had issued orders that the forces in the Mediterranean should send out detachments to act in Catalonia ; though subsequent circumstances interposed to prevent those troops to be detached, from rendering that service which it was then intended to employ them in.

Lord Castlereagh's Speech.

" The next question for the house to consider would be, If ministers gave the army of nearly 50,000 men a proper direction ? He assured Mr. Ponsonby he was not now going to the Pyrenees. He could conceive a man of common sense going to St. Andero, but he could not conceive a man of sound sense going to the Pyrenees. The port of St. Andero might have been thought preferable to Corunna ; but that port was extremely small, and in what situation would an army there have been in, with 40,000 or 50,000 French in the neighbourhood of Vittoria, and that army but half equipped, and all the transports going away ?

" He was not going, with Mr. Ponsonby, to the Pyrenees, but merely to the question he had put, as to what could have detained the British army so long, during the interval previous to the 27th of October, the first of which they made their first movement from Portugal to Spain. He had, at an early period of the campaign in Portugal, directed that a communication should be opened with the Spanish generals, on the subject of the co-operation of the British army in Spain. A letter had been accordingly sent to General Castanos, on that subject ; but it did not reach him till after the conclusion of the convention of Cintra. On the 25th of September, orders had been sent to Sir Hugh Dalrymple to move forward with his army towards the North of Spain ; and on the same day Sir David Baird received orders to embark for Firtrol or Corunna. It was not, however, till the 29th of September, that the first letter from Lord William Bentinck, (who had been sent to attend the supreme central junta) was written, containing the answers of the junta to certain questions which he had been directed to submit to them, as well relating to the entrance of the

Lord Castlereagh's Speech.

British army into Spain, as to the manner in which it should be employed there. The answers were, that the fate of Spain depended on the early co-operation of a British force ; and that they wished our forces to be concentrated as one British army. And General Castaños received orders to confer with Lord William Bentinck, as to the best mode of carrying those wishes into effect. It was proposed, that the army in Portugal should make for Burgos, by the route of Salamanca, and Sir David Baird disembark his troops at Corunna. This intelligence was received at Lisbon on the 8th of October.

“ While the question respecting the operation of the British forces in Spain was pending at Madrid, the very same question was pending in London, and the very same decision was agreed to at the same time. The Marquis of Romana’s opinion on this subject was in writing, and ready to be laid upon the table of the house.

“ With regard to the troops not being immediately permitted to land, he would only say, that from a prior and distant application made to his Majesty’s government, for British troops, on the part of the juntas of Gallicia and Asturias, ministers had a right to expect that no obstacle would be thrown in the way of any troops they might afterwards send. The juntas of Gallicia, and on the frontiers of Leon, were apprised of the expeditions then going out, and letters to different English officers from our government, requiring them “ to try every method to secure the troops accommodations on their landing ;” and necessaries for their continuing their march were laid before the respective juntas. He was very sorry to say, that the juntas had neglected to act

Lord Castlereagh's Speech

according to those communications. He did not wish to censure, or complain of their conduct, but such was the fact. Mr. Ponsonby had experienced surprise, that the movements of the British army had been so slow, and those of the French comparatively so rapid. But there was a difference between an army fully equipped, and one not equipped, between an army that would seize every thing on its way that could facilitate its march, whether provisions or carriages, and an army that could not have any such resources. Though the Spanish armies under Blake and Romana, and that of Estremadura, had, before the arrival of Sir John Moore at Salamanca, suffered severe reverses, still this was not a fair test of the general spirit of the people. They had at that period the most difficult task imposed upon them; that could devolve to the nation in such circumstances. They were at the same time to make head against a powerful enemy, and to make a government. After the march of the army from Salamanca, the only object was to draw off the forces of the enemy from pushing his conquests to the south. And surely never was a diversion more completely effected."

Lord Castlereagh ridiculed the notion of our military character being lost in consequence of the late reverses, and asked "if the disgraces of Vimiera and Corunna were to be blotted from the memories of Englishmen? If gentlemen were anxious for enquiry, they might go into a committee that would occupy them three months. Nothing, however, could be a greater mistake, than the supposition, that those who called for enquiry meant that they wanted information. He left it with confidence to the house to say, whether any case had been made out to justify the motion of the right honourable gentleman,

The difficulties of the office of an English Minister of State.

and where no case was made out, no enquiry could be called for."

The house agreed with his lordship, the question was loudly called for, a division took place, when there appeared for Mr. Ponsonby's motion 127, against it 220 ; so that the ministry had a majority of 93 in their favour.

" Of all the officers of the crown, a minister of state in England is certainly the least to be envied. He is not only dependant on the will of his prince, but is likewise accountable for every branch of his administration to the people. He can, it is true, confer benefits ; but he cannot, like a minister under an absolute monarch, resent injuries. He must not only bear to have his best designs ascribed to the worst motives, but likewise others imputed to him, which he never once thought of. His doors must be always open to the noisy impudent pretender, as well as to the man of real worth. Though he has many creatures and dependants, yet he has few friends who have capacity to render him any substantial services ; and a weak man may do him as much mischief by his ill conduct, as a knave may do him by his perfidy. Nay, those who live in the greatest intimacy with him will often betray him, either skulk to secret cabals of his enemies, or suffer those over whom they cannot but have a strong influence, not only to act in open opposition to his measures, but to treat his character with the greatest indecency. He, therefore, to whom this important province is assigned, ought to have a mind stored with ideas, a vast genius, quickness of thought, and facility of expression, and to be able to see through all the emotions of the soul at one glance. Equanimity of temper should also form a very material part of his composition, to parry off the shafts of ill-nature and flippant insult, aimed

State of Affairs in Spain.

at him by those who, too often, possess neither his character nor his abilities.

CHAPTER VII.

To furnish supplies to carry on the various wars in which Great Britain was engaged, as well as to subsidize the powers that were in concert, parliament raised the vast sum of 47,588,024*l.* on account of England.

Such considerable pecuniary assistance gave increased energy to her armies; but Bonaparte, as obstinate as he was violent, after the reduction of Madrid, in December 1808, he had sent a large force to Talavera del Reyna, with the intention of reducing Cordova, Seville, Cadiz, and Lisbon. Oporto had been seized, without resistance, by Marshal Soult, though garrisoned by a force three times his number. Marshal Ney, strongly reinforced by Kellerman, Mortier, and Bonnel at the same time giving their assistance at Lugo, made considerable progress in the provinces of Galicia, Asturias, and Biscay. Ferrol also, Corunna, Bilboa, St. Andero, and all places of importance on the northern coast of Spain, soon were in the possession of the French army. It seems indeed to have been the sole intention of Bonaparte, during the latter end of this year, after having reduced Madrid and the fortresses on the frontier, to have subdued the whole peninsula, by sending a continual column of forces, according to the force and natives of the provinces to be conquered, so that he might have an easy possession of

The Object of the French in Spain.

the different territories, important towns, and all the fastnesses, great and small, throughout the country. It appears, however, to have been Bonaparte's wise principle, in all his measures, both political and military, never to carry on but one arduous design at the same time ; but to bear with his whole force on that object, which engaged his entire attention ; and wherever the main strength of his enemy lay, there to direct his most strenuous efforts ; so that if their strength were once broken, secondary objects would necessarily be compelled to fall of course into his power. When, therefore, it became evident to Bonaparte that a war with Austria was unavoidable, he suffered the campaign in Spain to assume a new form ; for, instead of pushing forward those detachments which had already advanced into the unsubdued provinces and districts, as he had first intended, he suffered the French forces to neglect that mode of warfare, and to make it their principal care to concentrate themselves for their own security. The proposed march to Cadiz and Lisbon was suspended, and the French were in all parts observed to be making nearer approaches up the Tagus towards Madrid, skirting near the fortresses of Catalonia and Navarre, or concentrating their forces in the northern provinces of Gallicia, Asturias, and Biscay.

The whole object of the French in Spain seemed to be, to retain a footing in Spain, by keeping open the communication between Madrid and Bayonne ; retaining possession of the capital, and the other principal towns in the Spanish interior, as well as the northern provinces, together with Navarre and Catalonia ; and to complete the conquest of all that lay on the east side of the Ebro, by the reduction of Saragossa and the other fortified city of Gerona. These, collectively, appeared the sole objects

The Allies threaten Madrid.

which bounded the views of the French in the Spanish territories, from the commencement of 1809, till the decisive battle of Wagram, on the Danube, on the 5th of July, gave them further opportunities of increasing their mischiefs and pursuing their invasion.

But the French were not enabled to maintain the possessions they had obtained in security, for they were in constant alarm from the hostilities of the Spanish patriots, with alternate success, assisted from the British ships of war, a line of which extended from Cape Finisterre to Garonne. Several important places were retaken in Asturias and Biscay, so that the enemy were compelled to evacuate both Ferrol and Corunna at the close of the month of June. The capital of Galicia, St. Jago de Compostella, fell into the hands of the patriots, whilst St. Vigo, garrisoned by 14,000 French, surrendered to the Galicians, who were supported by two British frigates. The French were driven from the towns of Viana and Tuy, and, in a word, they evacuated the whole province of Galicia.

Marshal Soult, having evacuated Oporto, with the corps under his command, induced Marshal Ney to do the same at Corunna and Ferrol, and to proceed through Leon towards Madrid, which was threatened by the concerted preparations of the Spaniards and the British, who had formed three armies to act in concert, rather than in conjunction with each other, in their proposed attack upon the capital. One of these armies was under the command of General Cuesta, the second was led by General Venegas, and the third, which acted as an auxiliary, was the British army under Sir Arthur Wellesley.

To oppose these, a French army, under General

Position of the Armies.

Sebastiani, was stationed at La Mancha ; and another under Marshal Victor, Duke of Belluno, in New Castile. These divisions considered it prudent to advance nearer to each other, and towards the capital ; and therefore concentrated their force at a short distance towards the south-west of Toledo. Such a position was well chosen, as from that station the French had it in their power, either to make head against the allies, to cut off their effective communication with each other, or in detail to attack them.

The allied army consisted of what was called the central army, under Cuesta, (though all the three armies were at a considerable, and too great a distance from each other,) this part of the army took the position whence the French had recently retreated, in the neighbourhood of Talavera del Reyna. That of Venegas, which constituted the right wing, was placed on the descent of the heights denominated the Mountains of Toledo ; whilst the left wing, under Sir Arthur Wellesley, occupied a position north of the Tagus, in the neighbourhood of Monte Claros. Under the immediate command of Cuesta were 38,000 men, of whom 12,000 were cavalry ; Venegas's right wing consisted of 26,000 men ; whilst those under Sir Arthur Wellesley amounted to 30,000 strong, making up an army of 94,000 effective men.

It may be seen by this bare outline, what were the principal links of the chain of events, which induced the hostile powers in Spain to measure their main strength with each other more easily than if the attention to these principal links had been distracted by a vast number of intervening circumstances, and events of subordinate and inferior importance.

Here let us pause, and take a retrospect view of the

Activity and Success of General Beresford

occurrences most interesting in themselves, and more immediately and materially connected with the principal movements of this campaign.

On the side of Portugal, General Beresford, who had been dignified with the rank and title of Field Marshal, was also appointed Generalissimo, and employed the honours he had attained, as well as the power with which he was endued, in organizing and disciplining a Portuguese army, which he accomplished with great activity and success. He adopted the laudable practice of occasionally issuing bulletins, not only for the information of the army which he was forming, but also for the whole Portuguese nation; by which he communicated events as they occurred, whether they were favourable or otherwise, taking care, however, to intersperse his information with such hints, as fully evinced the good effects of order and discipline on one hand, and the fatal issue of insubordination and confusion on the other. He particularly remarked among these, as an illustration of his documents, that Chaves, a frontier town of Portugal, in the province of Tra-los-Montes, a most important military station, and garrisoned, it was said, by 10,000 French, was besieged by a numerous force of Spanish patriots, under the command of General Silviera. The citadel of Chaves surrendered by capitulation on the 25th of March. During this siege, the communication between the French and the north of Portugal, was wholly obstructed by the patriots on the frontiers.

But misfortune seemed to pervade the affairs of the Spanish armies, and yet the character of the war in the peninsula, at this period, was well exemplified by the complete victory obtained by Victor over Guesta, on the 28th of March, at Medellin; and the vast celebrity with

General Cuesta attacks the French.

which the latter had been enabled to re-assémeble and recruit his broken and dispersed army, so as to be enabled again to make head against the enemy. On the above day, Cuesta found that the whole division under General Victor, consisting of 20,000 infantry and 3000 cavalry, had been drawn up in front of Medellin, on the Guadiana, in the province of Estremadura. A formidable front, in close columns, was presented by the French infantry to their opponents, for repelling the Allies, should they have deemed it necessary to risk an attack. The flanks of the infantry were covered by the cavalry, and six batteries were raised in their front.

General Cuesta did not hesitate to commence a rapid and general attack against the enemy, though so drawn up and defended ; and, notwithstanding the tremendous fire from the batteries in front of the enemy, the Spanish infantry advanced with great steadiness and gallantry. The manœuvres directed for the purpose of gaining possession of those batteries, were executed with a promptitude, precision, and regularity, that would have done honour to the most veteran and experienced troops ; and to add all that was possible, to such heroic conduct, the Spanish infantry advanced within pistol-shot of the French !

We are at a loss to furnish language to depict what follows. Language is insufficient ; therefore as the fact is too notorious for displaying in its proper colours, let simplicity state an act of cowardice, that will attach disgrace to the perpetrators of it, as long as historic lore shall have any competence for description.

The first battery was already taken by the bravery of those, who will ever be an honour to their country ; con-

Retreat of the Army under Cuesta

sequently the conduct of their companions must be held in greater execration, when, finding that the French cavalry had made a charge to regain possession, General Cuesta ordered two regiments of Spanish cavalry and two squadrons to oppose them, but instead of executing this order, these poltroons, (to give them the mildest reproach that can attach to probably traitorous cowards,) the whole, both cavalry and chasseurs, immediately wheeled round, fled before the enemy, and threw the whole left wing of the Spanish army into confusion. The quick-sighted French, unwilling to let such a capital opportunity slip, immediately directed their undivided efforts against the right wing and the centre of the whole allied army. The efforts of General Cuesta, though he did all in his power to restore order in his left wing, and to check and repel the attack on his centre and his right, were all in vain, and he was obliged to retreat.

We are not, however, to give implicit faith to all that was vaunted forth in the Madrid Gazette, dated April 18th, on the occasion. That paper was under the control of Joseph Bonaparte, and as we have often experienced a luxuriance of fancy in the French Gazettes, we must give credit to them no farther than the absolute truth will authorize, therefore we detail what follows subject to such circumstances. The Madrid Gazette related on this occasion, that "Ten thousand Spaniards had been killed, and four thousand made prisoners by their light troops, the rest saved themselves by flight in the best manner they could. Their whole artillery, to the number of twenty-five pieces," say they, "with six standards, fell into our hands. The greater part of the upper officers and staff-officers were left on the field.

Promotion of General Cuesta.

Our loss, in comparison of that of the enemy, appears incredibly small, as this glorious day cost us only three hundred men. The army of Cuesta, and a part of that of Andalusia, are by this fortunate event annihilated. This victory assures us the conquest of Andalusia, the whole of which will be shortly in possession of our troops."

It certainly was admitted, allowing for French exaggeration, that the loss of the Spaniards in this unfortunate engagement was very considerable; as it is ascertained, that upwards of one hundred and seventy officers were either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners, and the loss in rank and file bore a still greater proportion to that of the officers than is usual.

The supreme junta, however, acted very wisely on this occasion. For, without taking particular notice of the scandalous defection of some part of the troops, they issued a decree from Seville, declaring that "the general of the army of Estremadura, and the corps which had withstood the enemy before Medellin, had deserved well of their country." They raised Cuesta to the rank of captain-general; the officers of his army, of whom he reported favourably, were advanced one degree; and the soldiers were decorated with a badge of honour, and received, for a month from the battle, double pay. General Cuesta, considering, at the same time, that something was due to his own honour, and that of the brave troops who had so heroically signalized themselves under his command, in his general orders, suspended, or, according to some accounts, cashiered three of his colonels, and severely repreahended the conduct of the two squadrons of chasseurs, and the two regiments of cavalry. He

The Spanish forces reassemble

reduced their pay for the space of a month, and ordered that the surplus resulting from this operation on their feelings and pockets, should form part of a fund for granting double pay, for the same space of time, to those soldiers who had sustained with honour the Spanish character

Such a decided advantage having been gained by the French, through the defeat and flight of the Spaniards, Victor immediately improved that advantage, by advancing to and entering Merida, where, in a position between that place and Badajoz, he and his army remained stationary for a considerable time; after which space they marched from the river Guadiana to the Tagus, and, having forced the bridge at Alcantara, proceeded down the river towards Abrantes and Lisbon

To oppose their manœuvres, General Cuesta reassembled his forces on the confines of Extremadura and Andalusia, and strengthened his broken army, which, although so disordered by this late defeat, and for some time without a fresh supply of military necessaries, increased in great force, to regain, as far as possible, the advantage of which it had been so unhappily deprived, for, to the honour of the Spanish nation in general be it recorded, that its character is not to sink under misfortune, but to resist calamity in profiting by discomfiture, and to rise superior to every lesser consideration, when its safety is at stake. Thus the soldiers which composed this army, though raw and undisciplined, subject also to panics, and easily drawn to follow examples of flight, yet soon remedied the errors of their leaders, by rallying with redoubled force;

Soult evacuates Oporto.

and though apparently dispersed, soon rallied ; and though apparently vanquished, maintained the unconquerable desire to defend their country at the imminent risk of their lives. Such an invincible spirit of liberty generally pervaded them, that by protracting the war, and maintaining a warlike disposition and habits, they favoured those events, which rendered the Spanish cause, though at fearful and almost insurmountable odds, ultimately triumphant.

Circumstances in Portugal seemed much more favourable to the cause of the Allies than in Spain. Sir Arthur Wellesley having arrived at Lisbon on the 22nd of April, proceeded, within a very few days afterwards, to take the command of the army, the head-quarters of which was at Coimbra, and advanced against Oporto. Marshal Beresford also, to render all the effective assistance in his power, at the same time marched at the head of a body of Portuguese, which he had been training, to the Upper Douro, to meet Soult, who commanded the French forces in its neighbourhood. But Soult knew how unequal he was to the defence of that quarter against Marshal Beresford, and a superior force, aided also by the spirit of the country against him ; therefore he thought it prudent to evacuate Oporto ; and, proceeding through Leon, join the other parts of the French army in Gallicia, agreeably to the general system of concentration which had been adopted, in consequence of the prospect of an Austrian warfare ; and, that he might effect his retreat with as little danger as possible of being overtaken by the allied British and Portuguese forces, had recourse to the following curious stratagem.

Curious Stratagem of Soult.

He talked loudly of defending Oporto, to the last extremity, certain, as he said, of receiving unbounded succours from his Sovereign and nation, and sent out various detachments of the army which was with him, detachment after detachment, for the pretended purpose of exercising. The commanding officers of these corps were, however, commanded in secret to send back a few companies, by way of blind, but to march the main body, with all expedition, in an opposite direction. Thus Marshal Soult stole away from Oporto.

Another and a deeper plan was connected with this; which was the endeavour to draw Sir Arthur Wellesley to a pursuit of him, and thereby give Victor an opportunity of pushing down the Tagus, to occupy the south of Portugal, and it was conjectured, that from such motives, he had left his rear-guard on the left of the Douro.

Thus, when the advanced guard of the British arrived at Verdas Novas, they fell in with the outposts of the enemy, consisting of about 4000 infantry, and a few squadrons of cavalry, strongly posted on the heights of Grijom; their front covered by woods and broken ground. Their flank was soon turned by our brigade, commanded by General Murray, whilst their right was attacked by a Portuguese brigade, and their centre driven in by a body of riflemen, drawn from different companies, under the direction of Major Way. The rear-guard of the French, on the 11th of May, crossed the Douro, and destroyed the bridge over that river; but our army closely pursued them, and notwithstanding all the efforts of the enemy to oppose them, crossed the river at the ferry of Ovintos, and about five miles above the town.

Sir Arthur Wellesley marches into the south of Portugal.

of Oporto and Villa Nova, after sustaining repeated attacks, made their appearance on both the right and left flanks of the French, who immediately retired in the utmost confusion towards Amarante, leaving behind them five pieces of cannon, eight tumbrels of ammunition, and many prisoners. The allied army pursued them for a short distance, some skirmishing took place between our advanced guard and the rear of the enemy, in which the allied forces had evidently the advantage ; but Soult made his retreat, with trifling molestation ; though, in order to render his flight more rapid and successful, he was under the necessity of abandoning the greater part of his artillery and baggage, and was pursued by General Beresford, as far as Orense. The advantage gained by the allied troops was esteemed of so much consequence, by the British government, that when Sir Arthur Wellesley's dispatch arrived in London, the Park and Tower guns were fired on the occasion.

Sir Arthur, however, did not fall into the trap so ingeniously contrived for him by Soult : the British general, as prudent as he was valorous, gave up the pursuit of Soult, and commenced his march to the south of Portugal, where he deemed his presence to be highly necessary, to watch the motions of, and to act against, Victor.

It appears that Marshal Ney, after having evacuated Corunna, had at first taken the road towards Vigo, to which place a body of Spanish troops, under the command of the Condé de Norona, had proceeded, having in contemplation a two-fold view, either of obtaining supplies, of which they were in great necessity, or to occupy an advantageous defensive position,

Within three leagues of Vigo, at the bridge of St. Payo, on the small river of Soto-major, the opponent

Retreat of the French from St. Payo.

armies met on the 7th of June. The force of the Spaniards consisted of 9000 men, of whom 6000 were armed, and had some small artillery. The French force was 8000, of which 2500 was composed of cavalry ; but their artillery consisted of only five twelve-pounders. Thus circumstanced, after repeated attacks on the Spaniards, both on the 7th and 8th days, the French were compelled to retreat from St. Payo, whence also they were driven farther back, throwing, as they retreated, the bodies of their slain into pits and wells. This was in some degree conformable to the usual practice of the French ; for when they had sufficient time and opportunity, it was their constant custom, in order to conceal the number of their slain, to burn the dead bodies and bury the ashes.

During these various actions, the assistance of four British gun-boats, sent up the river by order of the commodore at Vigo, was of essential service to the Spaniards, in harassing the troops of the enemy. The loss of the Spaniards, in these encounters, did not exceed 110 in killed and wounded. The reason was that they had been fortunate, by choosing their ground in a situation, where it was impossible for the enemy's cavalry to act with any effect. In addition to which also, a chain of parapets or wide battlements had been raised, behind which the Spaniards were protected from the fire of the enemy. They took 400 of the French as prisoners.

After the fall of Saragossa, in the north-east of Spain, General Reding, with the Spanish army under his command, which had been employed chiefly in attempts to raise the siege, or else to throw succours into Gerona, was now exposed to the whole force of the French. They had maintained two conflicts with great valour, and the strength and resolution of the armies, in opposition to

Cowardice of the Spaniards under General Blake.

each other, seemed to have been nearly balanced ; but a reinforcement of 8000 men, to that of the French, completely turned the balance in their favour : thus encouraged, they made the first attack, and completely routed the Spanish army, and their brave general, after having received five very severe wounds, was conveyed to Tarragona. In his dispatches, however, to the Junta, he gave a faithful account of what had passed, without any intimation of his personal sufferings. He was afterwards reinforced by the army under General Blake, and they jointly used their endeavours to resist the progress of the French into Catalonia.

The joint army of Valencia and Arragon, under the command of General Blake, on the 19th of May proceeded against Alcaniz, a town in the kingdom of Arragon, seated on the river Guadaloupe, near the frontiers of Catalonia, then occupied by the French. These the Spaniards drove, in great disorder, from that important post ; and afterwards routed and forced smaller parties of the enemy from other stations. Under such success, General Blake was induced, on the 15th of June, to make an attack on Saragossa ; but was repulsed with great loss. Souchet attacked him for two days in the neighbourhood of Belshite : General Blake, however, was enabled to repel him ; but on the third day, when the battle was renewed in the valley of Almonazir, the whole of the Spanish army, without firing a shot, though opposed by only one-third of their numbers, suddenly took flight, and left their general, attended by only six or seven officers.

Such a dereliction of duty, such an evidence of the most condemnable cowardice, stands in need of prompt apology. It shall be given.—This army was composed principally of raw recruits from Valencia : they had acted

Apology for the Spaniards.

with courage on sundry former occasions, and would probably have continued to display the same spirit, had not the most villainous, insidious arts been employed, to excite alarm, and thus produce their sudden dispersion.

It has been observed, that there is nothing so striking in the conduct of new and undisciplined levies, (and in none more than that of the Spaniards, both in this and the preceding campaign,) as the proofs of courage they exhibit on some occasions, and cowardice on others. Yet it is scarcely credible, that a whole army should have taken to their heels, without having made the least shew of resistance, without treachery. General Blake, in his extreme grief and anxiety for this transaction, was not sparing of his reprobation, in his dispatches to the Junta, and treated the base cowardice of his army in the terms such conduct truly deserved.

His own character and conduct he vindicated with becoming spirit, observing at the same time, that "it was not in the power of any general to foresee the circumstances which gave rise to panic fear, nor was the contagion, under such circumstances, to be prevented." In some instances, indeed, parties of Spaniards, after having made their escape from the dangers of the field, before the issue of the battle in which they had been engaged, were received by their countrymen without marks of displeasure or disrespect; but the fugitives of Belshite were treated, and every where spoken of, with ridicule and contempt.*

* In the correspondence of Sir Arthur Wellesley with Mr. Canning, secretary for foreign affairs, printed and laid before parliament in May, 1809, in a letter from Sir Arthur to his brother, the Marquis, is the following extract: "I am of opinion, that an effort should immediately be made

Loss of the Spaniards.

In their cowardly and precipitate flight from Belshite, the Spaniards not only abandoned their baggage, but threw down their arms. The regiment of Valencia rallied about two leagues from what was designed for the field of battle, and attempted to make a stand, and defend themselves ; but they were soon cut down or dispersed by the French hussars. Nine pieces of cannon, immense quantities of provisions, stores, and ammunition, fell into the hands of the enemy, together with 3000 prisoners. General Blake quitted Arragon, after this dreadful disaster ; and having retired at a distance from the enemy, employed himself, with unremitting diligence, in disciplining his army.

We have before mentioned, that the corps of Victor and Sebastiani, after long retrograde marches, the former on the shores of the Tagus, the other through the deserts of Castile, had united their forces at a short distance from Toledo. This united force, variously estimated at from 30,000 to 50,000 men, with the forces brought by Joseph from Madrid, were of course exercised in his name, and were stationed in the vicinity of Talavera del Reyna, and along the banks of the river Alberché.

During these inauspicious events, Sir Arthur Wellesley,

for clothing the Spanish troops in a national uniform. The adoption of this measure would put a stop to the custom which, I am sorry to say, so generally prevails, of their throwing down their arms and accoutrements, dispersing and betaking themselves to flight, on pretence of their being, not soldiers, but simply peasants." Had they been understood to be soldiers, deserters, and fugitives from the army, Sir Arthur concluded that their danger would have been increased, from the indignation and resentment of their countrymen.

Conjunction of the British and Spanish Forces.

after his return from the pursuit of Marshal Soult, had been for a considerable time inactive in the vicinity of Lisbon. This was contrary to his natural disposition, as he was full of activity and ardour in the cause, and even adventurous in quest of personal reputation ; he was anxious, if possible, to strike some decisive blow ; but before this should be attempted, he deemed it necessary that some plan of co-operation should be concerted between him and the Spanish generals, particularly with General Cuesta. And he was more desirous of the co-operation of this general, than solicitous that the Spanish generals should make any kind of attempt of importance, without the assistance of the British army. General Cuesta heartily coincided in Sir Arthur's wishes, and promised that he would suspend any particular operations till the British army had reached the banks of the Tagus. Sir Arthur, according to the correspondence between the Marquis of Wellesley and Mr. Canning, had also many obstacles which intruded themselves, in managing and coming to a perfect understanding with the Central Junta ; the Junta had likewise great difficulty in calling forth the means and energy of the country. They had to combat the humours of General Cuesta ; who, though a brave man, and of a decided character, was altogether so crusty and unaccommodating in his disposition, that he was considered by many as unfit to have the command of an army, being more an advocate for an harassing warfare, than desirous to run the risque of any great and decisive battle. A plan of operations was, however, concerted, and their armies commenced their march towards Madrid.

On the 20th of July, a conjunction of the forces took place, and measures were immediately consulted, for

Retreat of General Cuesta's Advanced Guard.

carrying into effect the plan which had been agreed upon by the generals. The result was, that Sir Robert Wilson, commanding a corps of Portuguese, amounting to from 3000 to 4000 men, whom he had been at very considerable pains to bring into a state of excellent discipline, was ordered to proceed to Escalona, on the river Alberché; the corps under Venegas advanced to Argonda; and the main strength of the allied army marched on to meet the enemy, who were posted at Olalla.

The junction and march of the allied army up the valley of the Tagus* having taken place, and a march having commenced towards the French under Victor, a general engagement was daily expected. Prayers were offered up for the success of the allies, to the Supreme Disposer of all events, at the Cathedral Church of Seville, at which the Central Junta attended in a body. General Cuesta's advanced guard was attacked on the 26th of July, near Torrijos, and was obliged to fall back to the left bank of the Alberché. The army of the enemy, remaining still at Olalla,† indicated its determination of trying the result of a general action.

* TAGUS or TAJO—A river which rises in the mountains of Molina, which separate the kingdom of Arragon from Old Castile, passes by Aranjuez, Tòledo, Tàlavera del Reyna, crosses Castile and Estramadura, and enters Portugal at Montalvao; crossing Estramadura, it passes by Abrantes, Santarem, &c. and runs into the Atlantic, about 10 miles below Lisbon. This river is navigable but a little way above Lisbon, on account of rocks, and its current is broken by many cataracts. A scheme was once in agitation to make it navigable to Madrid, but it came to nothing.

† ST. OLALLA—A town of Spain, in New Castile, 18 miles N. W. Toledo.

Position of the Allied Troops

Sir Arthur Wellesley, prompted by such a seeming resolution of the French, was not one to disappoint them in their intentions, and, therefore, considering that the neighbourhood of Talavera del Reyna,* a town half-way between Placentia and Madrid, and about sixty or seventy miles distant from both, was a good position, and General Cuesta having consented to take up this position, on the 27th in the morning, the British general Sherbrooke was ordered to retire with his corps to its situation in the line, leaving General Mackenzie, with a division of infantry and a brigade of cavalry, as an advanced post in the wood on the right of the Alberché,† which covered the left flank of the allies.

An extent of nearly two miles was taken up by the position of the troops at Talavera. Where the British troops were stationed, the ground was open on the left, and was commanded by a height, on which a division of infantry, under Major-general Hill, was drawn up in *echelon*, and in second line. Still farther to the left was a valley, unoccupied on account of being commanded by the height, which was situated between that height and the mountains, the range of which appeared at too much distance to have any influence on the expected action. Immediately in front of the town of Talavera, down to the Tagus, were stationed the Spanish

* TALAVERA DEL REYNA—A town of Spain, in New Castile, on the Tagus, situated in a valley, and fortified in the old manner with walls, towers, and breast works. It was formerly appropriated to the Queen's revenue, and is at present famous for its earthen ware, 35 miles west of Toledo.

† ALBERCHE—A river of Spain, which runs into the Tagus a little above Talavera.

Situation of the Allied Army.

troops, forming the right wing of the allied army. Great part of the ground was covered by olive-trees, and intersected by banks and ditches. A heavy battery, in front of a church, was occupied by Spanish infantry, which defended the high road, leading from the bridge over the Alberché. The town itself, and all its avenues, were defended in a similar manner. There was also a commanding spot in the centre, between the British and Spanish armies, on which the British had begun to construct a redoubt, with some open ground in the rear ; at this spot was posted a division of infantry, supported by a brigade of dragoons and some Spanish cavalry.

We cannot avoid in this place declaring, that the very great inconveniences which the armies suffered, must be a subject of great reprehension, for the neglect of the Junta ; and we cannot better describe those inconveniences than in the words of Sir Arthur Wellesley, at the same time that he, in a very expressive manner, relates with what alacrity our forces prepared themselves to join the Spanish army. His first dispatch to Lord Castlereagh is dated from Placentia, 15th July, 1809, and is as follows :

“ **M**Y **L**ORD,—After I had written to your Lordship on the 1st instant, Joseph Bonaparte crossed the Tagus again, and joined Sebastiani with the troops he had brought from Madrid, and with a detachment from Marshal Victor’s corps, making the corps of Sebastiani about 28,000 men, with an intention of attacking Vanegas’ corps. Vanegas; however, retired into the mountains of the Sierra Morena, and Colonel Larcy, with his advanced guard, attacked a French advanced corps in the night, and destroyed many of them.

Situation of the Armies.

" The French troops then returned again to the Tagus, which river Joseph had crossed with the reinforcements which he had taken to Sebastiani's corps; and this last corps, consisting of 10,000 men only, was on the left bank of the Tagus, about Madnelejos, in front of Vanezas, who was again advancing.

" The last accounts from this quarter were of the 8th.

" The French army under Victor, joined by the detachments brought by Joseph from Sebastiani's corps, and amounting in the whole to about 35,000 men, are concentrated in the neighbourhood of Talavera, and on the Alberché; General Cuesta's army, has been in the position which I informed your Lordship that it had taken up since I addressed you on the first instant.

" The advanced guard of the British army arrived here on the 8th, and the troops which were with me on the Tagus arrived by the 10th; the 23rd Light Dragoons, and the 48th arrived yesterday; the 61st regiment will arrive to-morrow.

" I went to General Cuesta's quarters at Almaraz on the 10th, and stayed there till the 12th, and I have arranged with that General a plan of operations upon the French army, which we are to begin to carry into execution on the 18th, if the French should remain so long in their position.

" The Spanish army under General Cuesta consists of about 28,000 men, (exclusive of Vanezas' corps,) of which 7000 are cavalry. About 14,000 men are detached to the bridge of Arzobispo, and the remainder are in the camp under the Puente de Mirabete.

" I have the pleasure to inform your Lordship, that the

Inconveniences suffered by the Allied Army.

seven battalions of infantry from Ireland and the islands, and the troop of horse artillery from Great Britain, arrived at Lisbon in the beginning of the month.

“ General Craufurd’s brigade is on its march to join the army, but will not arrive here till the 24th or 25th.

“ I have the honour to be,

“ ARTHUR WELLESLEY.”

This dispatch was truly indicative of the energy with which the British Government was desirous to conduct the campaign in the Peninsula ; but the next dispatch, dated at Talavera del Reyna, July 24th, will fully evince the vast inconveniences both the British and Spanish forces were compelled to suffer ; this dispatch is also addressed to Lord Castlereagh, and is thus worded :

“ My Lord,—According to the arrangement which I had settled with General Cuesta, the army broke up from Placentia on the 17th and 18th instant, and reached Oropesa on the 20th, where it formed a junction with the Spanish army under his command.

“ Sir Robert Wilson had marched from the Venta de Bazagon, on the Tietar, with the Lusitanian Legion, a battalion of Portuguese Chasseurs, and two Spanish battalions on the 15th ; he arrived at Arenas on the 19th, and on the Alberché, at Escalona, on the 23rd.

“ General Vanegas had also been directed to break up from Madrileyos on the 18th and 19th, and to march by Trembleque and Ocana to Puenteduenas on the Tagus, where that river is crossed by a ford, and thence to Arganda, where he was to arrive on the 22nd and 23rd.

“ On the 22nd, the combined armies moved from Oropesa, and the advanced guards attacked the en-

Deficiency of the means of transport in Spain.

my's outposts at Talavera. Their right was turned by the 1st Hussars and the 23rd Light Dragoons under General Anson, directed by Lieutenant-General Payne, and by the division of infantry under the command of Major-General Mackenzie, and they were driven in by the Spanish advanced guards, under the command of General Sarjas and the Duc d'Albuquerque.

" We lost eleven horses by the fire of cannon from the enemy's position on the Alberché, and the Spaniards had some men wounded.

" The columns were formed for the attack of this position yesterday; but the attack was postponed till this morning by desire of General Cuesta, when the different corps destined for the attack were put in motion, but the enemy had retired at about one in the morning to Santa Olalla, and thence towards Torrijos; I conclude to form a junction with the corps under General Sebastiani.

" I have not been able to follow the enemy as I could wish, on account of the great deficiency of means of transport in Spain. I enclose the copy of a letter, which I thought it proper to address upon this subject to Major-general O'Donnoghue, the Adjutant-general of the Spanish army, as soon as I found that this country would furnish no means of this description.

" General Cuesta has urged the Central Junta to adopt vigorous measures to relieve our wants; till I am supplied, I do not think it proper, and indeed I cannot continue my operations. I have great hopes, however, that before long I shall be supplied from Andalusia and La Mancha with the means which I require, and I

General Hill is attacked by the French.

shall then resume the active operations which I have been compelled to relinquish.—I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

“(Signed) ARTHUR WELLESLEY.”

Perplexed with these untoward circumstances, and encompassed with difficulties, the British Commander-in-chief determined on hazarding an action. He did not suffer trifles to suspend his operations; and, though disaffection pervaded the minds of too many of his countrymen in Great Britain, he considered much more than their haggard ideas had suggested; he considered, as it afterwards proved, that the only effectual warfare to harass French policy must take place in the Peninsula.

His resolution did not waver; for about two o'clock in the afternoon; on the 27th of July, an attack was made on the division under General Mackenzie, who gradually fell back in good order, though not without some loss, on the left of the position of the combined armies. Towards evening the French made an attempt to overthrow the Spanish infantry, which formed the right wing of the allied army; but the endeavour was unsuccessful. They commenced a general attack, towards the dusk of the evening, on the allies, by a cannonade on the left of their position, and by an attempt with cavalry to overthrow the Spanish infantry; in this also, they entirely failed. A division was then pushed along the valley on the left of the height occupied by Major-general Hill, by which the French gained a momentary possession; but Major-general Hill, by an attack with the bayonet, displaced the enemy, and regained his position. His positions were again twice attacked in the night, and at day-light in the morning of the 28th, by two divisions of the French infantry; but in both those attacks they were bravely

Loss of the French and Allies at the Battle of Talavera.

repulsed by General Hill and his troops. The French had also made similar attacks on the troops under General Campbell, but were equally unsuccessful; for that officer, supported by a regiment of Spanish cavalry and two battalions of Spanish infantry, completely discomfited them, and took their cannon. General Sherbrooke's division, which formed the left and centre of the first line of the army, was next attacked; but that division instantly received the enemy with the points of their bayonets, and drove them back with great slaughter. In this part of the contest, the brigade of guards, which had formed part of this division, in their eagerness to pursue the enemy, advanced too far, and were thrown into a temporary confusion, by having exposed their left flank to the fire of a battery; but a part of General Cotton's brigade of cavalry, on observing this, pushed forward, and covered them, till they were enabled to regain their original position.

Thus foiled, in every point of attack against the allied army, having also lost 20 pieces of cannon and some of their men, who were taken prisoners, the French considered it most adviseable to commence a retreat, which they effected, in good order, across the Alberche.

Their loss in killed and wounded was never calculated with any degree of exactness; but Sir Arthur Wellesley estimated it at 10,000: though the French wished to make it appear that the loss of the allies must have been greater than theirs, owing, they asserted, to the greater number of cannon they were enabled to bring into the field against us. The loss of the British amounted to nearly 6000 in killed, wounded, and missing. Among the killed were Major-general Mackenzie, Brigadier-general Langworth, and Brigadier-general Beckett. As the

Account of the Battle of Talavera.

Spanish troops were only engaged partially, their loss was comparatively small, not exceeding 1000 in killed, wounded, and missing.

We consider, however, that when describing so great a victory, so bravely gained, we cannot do sufficient justice to the merits of the Commander-in-chief and those under his command; therefore, without any apology, we think it best that he should detail to us the progress of this brilliant action in his own words, addressed to Lord Castlereagh :

“ Talavera del Reyna, July 29, 1809.

“ **MY LORD,**—General Cuesta followed the enemy’s march with his army from the Alberché on the morning of the 24th, as far as Santa Olalla, and pushed forward his advanced guard as far as Torrijos.

“ For the reasons stated to your Lordship, in my dispatch of the 24th, I moved only two divisions of infantry and a brigade of cavalry across the Alberché to Casalegos, under the command of Lieutenant-general Sherbrooke, with a view to keep up the communication between General Cuesta and me, and with Sir R. Wilson’s corps at Escalona.

“ It appears that General Vanegas had not carried into execution that part of the plan of operations which related to his corps, and that he was still at Damiel, in La Mancha; and the enemy in the course of the 24th, 25th, and 26th, collected all his forces on this part of Spain, between Torrijos and Toledo, leaving but a small corps of 2000 men in that place.

“ His united army thus consisted of the corps of Marshal Victor, of that of General Sebastiani, and of seven or eight thousand men, the guards of Joseph Bonaparte, and the garrison of Madrid, and it was commanded by Joseph

Position of the Allied Troops.

Bonaparte, aided by Marshals Jourdan and Victor, and General Sebastiani.

" On the 26th General Cuesta's advanced guard was attacked near Torrijos, and obliged to fall back, and the General retired with his army on that day to the left bank of the Alberché, General Sherbrooke continuing at Casalegos, and the enemy at Santa Olalla.

" It was then obvious, that the enemy intended to try the result of a general action, for which the best position appeared to be in the neighbourhood of Talavera, and General Cuesta having consented to take up this position on the morning of the 27th, I ordered General Sherbrooke to retire with his corps to its station in the line, leaving General Mackenzie, with a division of infantry and a brigade of cavalry, as an advanced post in the wood on the right of Alberché, which covered our left flank.

" The position taken up by the troops at Talavera extended rather more than two miles; the ground was open upon the left, where the British army was stationed, and it was commanded by a height, on which was, in echelon and in second line, a division of infantry under the orders of Major-general Hill.

" There was a valley between this height and a range of mountains still further upon the left, which valley was not at first occupied, as it was commanded by the height before-mentioned; and the range of mountains appeared too distant to have any influence upon the expected action.

" The right, consisting of Spanish troops, extended immediately in front of the town of Talavera down to the Tagus. This part of the ground was covered by olive-trees, and much intersected by banks and ditches. The

The French attack General Mackenzie's division.

high road leading from the bridge over the Alberché, was defended by a heavy battery in front of a church, which was occupied by Spanish infantry. All the avenues to the town were defended in a similar manner; the town was occupied, and the remainder of the Spanish infantry was formed in two lines behind the banks on the roads which led from the town and the right, to the left of our position.

“ In the centre, between the two armies, there was a commanding spot of ground, on which we had commenced to construct a redoubt, with some open ground in its rear.

“ Brigadier-general Alexander Campbell was posted at this spot with a division of infantry, supported in his rear by General Cotton's brigade of dragoons, and some Spanish cavalry.

“ At about two o'clock on the 27th, the enemy appeared in strength on the left bank of the Alberché, a manifested an intention to attack General Mackenzie's division.

“ The attack was made before they could be withdrawn; but the troops, consisting of General Mackenzie's and Colonel Donkin's brigades, and General Anson's brigade of cavalry, and supported by General Payne with the other four regiments of cavalry, in the plain between Talavera and the wood, withdrew in good order, but with some loss, particularly by the 2nd battalion 67th regiment, and 2nd battalion 31st regiment, in the wood.

“ Upon this occasion the steadiness and discipline of the 45th regiment, and of the 5th battalion 60th regiment, were conspicuous; and I had particular reason for being

The French commence a General Attack

satisfied with the manner in which Major-general Mackenzie withdrew his advanced guard.

" As the day advanced, the enemy appeared in larger numbers on the right of the Alberche, and it was obvious that he was advancing to a general attack upon the combined army.

" General Mackenzie continued to fall back gradually upon the left of the position of the combined armies, where he was placed in the second line, in the rear of the guards, Colonel Donkin being placed in the same situation further upon the left, in the rear of the King's German Legion

" The enemy immediately commenced his attack in the dusk of the evening, by a cannonade upon the left of our position, and by an attempt with his cavalry to overthrow the Spanish infantry, posted, as I have before stated, on the right. This attempt failed entirely.

" Early in the night he pushed a division along the valley on the left of the height occupied by General Hill, of which he gained a momentary possession, but Major-general Hill attacked it instantly with the bayonet, and regained it.

" This attack was repeated in the night, but failed, and again at day light in the morning of the 28th, by two divisions of infantry, and was repulsed by Major-general Hill.

" Major-general Hill has reported to me in a particular manner the conduct of the 29th regiment, and of the 1st battalion 48th regiment, in these different affairs, as well as that of Major-general Tilson, and Brigadier-general Richard Stewart.

" We have lost many brave officers and soldiers in the

Situation of the Armies.

defence of this important point in our position; among others I cannot avoid to mention Brigade-major For-dyce, and Brigade-major Gardner; and Major-general Hill was himself wounded, but I am happy to say, but slightly.

“ The defeat of this attempt was followed, about noon, by a general attack with the enemy’s whole force upon the whole of that part of the position occupied by the British army.

“ In consequence of the repeated attempts upon the height on our left by the valley, I had placed two brigades of British cavalry in that valley, supported in the rear by the Duc d’Albuquerque’s division of Spanish cavalry.

“ The enemy then placed light infantry in the range of mountains on the left of the valley, which were opposed by a division of Spanish infantry, under Lieutenant-general De Bassecourt.

“ The general attack began by the march of several columns of infantry into the valley, with a view to attack the height occupied by Major-general Hill. These columns were immediately charged by the first German light dragoons and 23rd dragoons, under the command of General Anson, directed by Lieutenant-general Payne, and supported by General Fane’s brigade of heavy cavalry; and although the 23rd dragoons suffered considerable loss, the charge had the effect of preventing the execution of that part of the enemy’s plan.

“ At the same time he directed an attack upon Brigadier-general Alexander Campbell’s position in the centre of the combined armies, and on the right of the British.

The French Army repulsed.

“ This attack was most successfully repulsed by Brigadier-general Campbell, supported by the King’s regiment of Spanish cavalry, and two battalions of Spanish infantry; and Brigadier-general Campbell took the enemy’s cannon.

“ The Brigadier-general mentions particularly the conduct of the 97th, the 2nd battalion 7th, and of the 2nd battalion of 53rd regiments, and I was highly satisfied with the manner in which this part of the position was defended.

“ An attack was also made at the same time upon Lieutenant-general Sherbrooke’s division, which was on the left and centre of the first line of the British army.

“ This attack was most gallantly repulsed by a charge with bayonets, by the whole division, but the brigade of guards, which were on the right, having advanced too far, they were exposed on their left flank to the fire of the enemy’s battery, and of their retiring columns; and the division was obliged to retire towards the original position, under cover of the second line of General Cotton’s brigade of cavalry, which I had moved from the centre, and of the 1st battalion 48th regiment.

“ I had moved this regiment from its original position on the heights, as soon as I observed the advance of the guards, and it was formed in the plain, and advanced upon the enemy, and covered the formation of Lieutenant-general Sherbrooke’s division.

“ Shortly after the repulse of this general attack, in which apparently all the enemy’s troops were employed, he commenced his retreat across the Alberche, which was conducted in the most regular order, and was effected during the night, leaving in our hands twenty

Death of General Mackenzie.

pieces of cannon, ammunition, tumbrils, and some prisoners.

“ Your Lordship will observe by the inclosed return the great loss which we have sustained of valuable officers and soldiers in this long and hard-fought action, with more than double our numbers. That of the enemy has been much greater. I am informed that entire brigades of infantry have been destroyed, and indeed the battalions that retreated were much reduced in numbers. By all accounts their loss is ten thousand men. Generals Lapisse and Morlot are killed; Generals Sebastiani and Boulet wounded.

“ I have particularly to lament the loss of Major-general Mackenzie,” who had distinguished himself on the 27th;

[†] Major-general John Ronald M'Kenzie, who so gloriously fell in the battle of Talavera, was the representative of a very ancient family, whose patrimonial estate (Suddie) lies in that part of the county of Ross, called the Black Isle. He fell in or about his 47th year. He began his military career in the Marines, under the immediate eye of his uncle, General M'Kenzie, of that most honourable corps, and for some time previous to 1794, did the duty of Adjutant to the Chatham division.

Upon the death of his uncle, by which he succeeded to some personal fortune, he relinquished the Marines, perhaps from an ambition to get forward in his profession more rapidly than that service admits of.

In the spring of 1794, he became Major of the 2nd battalion of the 78th foot, or Ross-shire Buffs, raised by Lord Seaforth. In the latter end of that year, or early in 1795, both battalions of the 78th were consolidated, by which measure this gallant officer became attached to the 1st battalion, and with the officers and men from the 2nd, joined the 1st battalion at the Cape, from whence they

Death of General Langworth and Brigade-Major Becket.

and of Brigadier-general Langworth, of the King's German Legion, and of Brigade-major Becket, of the Guards.

proceeded to India, 1200 strong, where the regiment served with distinction under Lieutenant-general, (then Colonel M'Kenzie Frazer. With this corps the gallant Major-general served many years in India, and afterwards commanded the regiment. He returned to Europe in 1801-2, sincerely regretted by his regiment, and all who knew him—and if his service in the East was not marked by any brilliant professional event, it was because the situation of that country, during his stay in it, did not call for active exertion.

Promoted to the rank of Colonel soon after he came home, on the breaking out of the war in 1803, he was placed on the Northern Staff as a Brigadier; thereafter he was made Governor and Commandant of Alderney, and soon thereafter replaced on the Northern Staff as Major-general, in which situation he was, when, on his own solicitation no doubt, he was removed to the command of a brigade in Portugal in 1808.

He was in Parliament four years, first for the Sutherland District of Boroughs, and latterly for the shire of Sutherland, in the room of Mr. William Dundas.

In 1804, he superintended the Levy, and in 1805, the discipline of that gallant but ill-fated *second* 2nd battalion of the 78th, which, when but recruits in fact, beat the chosen troops of France on the plains of Maida, but were afterwards annihilated with their gallant young leader, Lieutenant-Colonel M'Leod, in the Egyptian expedition.

He was a zealous, steady, cool soldier—a mild and most friendly man. The service lost in him a most excellent officer—his friends an invincible and amiable man. The 78th adored him, and will long lament him.

His estate, called Suddie, devolved to an only sister, married to Captain Potts, of the 42nd regiment, by whom she has a large family.

Bravery of the Troops.

“ Your Lordship will observe, that the attacks of the enemy were principally, if not entirely, directed against the British troops. The Spanish Commander-in-chief, his officers and troops, manifested every disposition to render us assistance, those of them which were engaged did their duty ; but the ground which they occupied was so important, and its front at the same time so difficult, that I did not think it proper to urge them to make any movement on the left of the enemy while he was engaged with us. .

“ I have reason to be satisfied with the conduct of all the officers and troops. I am much indebted to Lieut.-general Sherbrooke for the assistance I received from him, and for the manner in which he led on his division to the charge with bayonets.

“ To Lieutenant-general Payne and the cavalry, particularly General Anson’s brigade, to Major-generals Hill and Tilson, Brigadier-generals Alexander Campbell, Richard Stewart, and Cameron, and to the divisions and brigades of infantry under their commands respectively, particularly the 29th regiment, commanded by Colonel White, the first battalion 48th, commanded by Colonel Donnellan, afterwards, when that officer was wounded, by Major Middlemore ; the 2nd battalion 7th, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Sir William Myers ; the 2nd battalion 53rd, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Bingham ; the 97th, commanded by Colonel Lyon ; the 1st battalion of detachments, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Bunbury ; and the second battalion 31st, commanded by Major Watson ; and of the 45th commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Guard ; and the 5th battalion 60th, commanded by Major Davy, on the 27th.

“ The advance of the brigade of guards was most gal-

Eulogium on the Bravery of the British Soldiers.

lantly conducted by Brigadier-general Campbell, and when necessary, that brigade retired, and formed again in the best order.

“ The artillery under Brigadier-general Howorth was also, throughout these days, of the greatest service, and I had every reason to be satisfied with the assistance I received from the Chief Engineer, Lieutenant-colonel Fletcher, the Adjutant-general, Brigadier-general the Hon. C. Stewart, and the Quarter-master-general, Colonel Murray, and the officers of those departments respectively, and from Colonel Bathurst and the officers of my personal staff.

“ I also received much assistance from Colonel O’Lawlor, of the Spanish service, and from Brigadier-general Whittingham, who was wounded when bringing up the two Spanish battalions to the assistance of Brigadier-general Alexander Campbell.

“ I send this by Captain Lord Fitzroy Somerset, who will give your Lordship any further information, and whom I beg leave to recommend.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.

“ ARTHUR WELLESLEY.”

The battle of Talavera added one more to the chain of proofs, that the British troops were the best in the world; and that they possessed more principle, more strength, and more courage, than any equal, or rather superior force that could be brought against them. It fully confirmed the idea, that they ever go to battle with that resolution to conquer, and with that contempt of their enemies, which must ever insure them a victory, though engaged with three times their own number. It may be allowed, that in the wear and tear of a campaign the French may probably excel; but it must also be allowed,

Bravery of the British Troops.

that when British troops have been brought fresh into the field, they have always been invincible, unless *overwhelmed* by numbers. Could Great Britain have brought an army of 100,000 of the natives of its empire, and transported them to the banks of the Danube, not the smallest doubt can be entertained, but that they would have turned the scale in favour of the oppressed states of Europe, against him who had, by dint of numbers, desolated them with impunity. But circumstances were very different from what they were in the days of the Duke of Marlborough ; we had then greater armies and a less navy, but now England was enabled to fight with both hands, and to her lasting honour be it recorded, that she has obtained equal glory by both.

But with respect to this particular battle, there could be no hesitation to declare, that it was highly honourable to the Commander-in-Chief, and equally so to the army under his command. The army evinced, in an exemplary manner, their steadiness, their discipline, and their courage. Sir Arthur Wellesley displayed his skill in military operations, and his wisdom, by his confidence in such an army of British heroes. And, in one circumstance, Sir Arthur's prudence was as remarkable as his prowess, in the use he made of the assistance of the Spanish army. Had he allowed that army to have taken an active part in the battle, he thought it very probable that the Spaniards might have been agitated, as in former instances, by panic, and consequently be defeated, and throw the whole army into confusion ; he therefore, well considering their nature, posted the Spaniards on strong ground, difficult of access ; thus at once employing them as an impenetrable wing to his own army, and securing them for future operations. An army, which had not

Disaffection of the British People.

consistency enough to impel their courage to commence an attack, might yet be equal to the service of a pursuit ; and thus it was that Sir Arthur thought proper to employ them.

It is highly necessary, in this place, to pass a due encomium on the British army and their Commander, for disaffection at home had treated them with the most undeserving, and consequently the most unjust severity ; but this brilliant action effaced every unjust censure against a worthy and a truly great man. Injustice, for once, was ashamed of itself, and forbore its consistency ; it allowed honour where it was duly appreciated, and granted that the battle of Talavera had added glory to the British character.

We cannot avoid, in this place, observing, that had the language of opposite sentiments been in the least attended to in the progress of the war in Spain, we should not have so soon felt the happy results of which the campaign, as conducted by the British Commander-in-Chief, was a principal machine ; but Sir Arthur Wellesley was a statesman as well as a warrior ; he could lead an army, and guide a cabinet ; and though "the plain truth," as it was stated at this period, was, "that the attempt to deliver Spain, when the Spaniards would not fight—when they had no cause to fight for—when Bonaparte offered them a better government than the one he had displaced—and when the royal family was held in indifference by all the better part of the nation—to deliver Spain was about as possible as to restore the Bourbons to France ;" yet Sir Arthur Wellesley judged of the above premises as they deserved. He had sufficient foresight to perceive the fallacy of such doctrines, and acted as the prudence of an expanded mind dictated, despising all personal

Account of the Family of Sir Arthur Wellesley.

feeling to benefit his country, and passing by the censure of discontent, cautiously but boldly pursued the scheme he had generously commenced, and has so gloriously accomplished. After having gained the complete victory of Talavera, Sir Arthur left the pursuit of the broken enemy to Generals Cuesta and Vanegas.

CHAPTER VIII.

HAVING said what was incontrovertible, relating to the talents of Sir Arthur Wellesley, in the preceding chapter, we shall appropriate the present entirely to glance at, (we have no ability to do more,) the amazing qualifications of this illustrious character, up to the time of which we are now speaking.

Arthur Wellesley, the fifth son* of the late Earl of

* It has been asserted by several writers, that Sir Arthur Wellesley, (now Duke of Wellington,) is the third son of the late Earl of Mornington; but if we refer to the English Peerage, under the account of Baron Wellesley, we shall find the Earl of Mornington's progeny to be as follows:

1. Lord Wellesley in England, Marquis of Wellesley in Ireland; 2. Arthur Gerald, who died young; 3. William, who took the name and arms of Pole; 4. Francis Seymour, died young; 5. Arthur; 6. Gerald Valerian, in holy orders; 7. Henry; 8. Anne, married to the Hon. Henry Fitzroy, brother to Lord Southampton, who deceasing, she married secondly Cullen Smith Esq.; 9. Mary Elizabeth, born in 1772, died in 1794.

Sir Arthur Wellesley appointed to command at Seringapatam.

Mornington, received the rudiments of his education at Eton College, whence he was removed to the Military Academy at Angers, in France. He applied himself with great industry, during his residence there, in acquiring a thorough knowledge of the theory of that profession, to which he had devoted his future life, entered the British army as a Subaltern, at an early period, and obtained the rank of a Field-Officer, without having had any opportunity of distinguishing himself.

But in the year 1794, he had an opportunity of displaying his talents, while *conducting the retreat of three battalions*, which he effected with great credit and applause.

The Marquis Wellesley having been appointed to be the Governor-general of Bengal, Sir Arthur, who had purchased the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of the 33rd, accompanied his regiment to India. On his arrival, an expedition being then on foot for the reduction of Manilla, Sir Arthur was appointed to it, and had actually embarked, when it was found necessary to abandon the expedition, on account of the intrigues of France with Tippoo Sultan.

Lieutenant-General Harris had been appointed to command the Madras army, destined to act against Tippoo, and penetrate into the Mysore country; upon the arrival of the Nizam's subsidiary force, consisting of nearly 15,000 native troops, General Harris appointed Colonel Wellesley to command it, as a separate body.

When Seringapatam was stormed, on the 4th of May, 1799, the Colonel commanded the reserve at that ever-memorable assault, and he was thanked in public orders by General Harris, for his gallant intrepidity.

In the commission of British Officers, selected to

Colonel Wellesley commands the Expedition against Dhondia Waugh.

arrange the division of the Mysore territories, Colonel Wellesley was appointed for the division of the prize treasure taken in Seringapatam.

His next appointment was that of Governor of the conquered capital ; a task the most difficult, and which required great integrity and military ability, united to much prudence and judgment. In this arduous employment, and for the meritorious discharge of this difficult duty, Colonel Wellesley received the thanks of the Governor-general in council.

General Harris having quitted India for Europe, and the command of the Madras army devolving upon Major-General Braithwaite, Colonel Wellesley was entrusted with an expedition against the freebooter, Dhondia Waugh, of whom it was necessary to make a severe example, from the excesses which he had committed on the Company's possessions.

In the month of September 1800, the Colonel, at the head of a proper force, took the field, entered the Nizam's territories on the 5th, and after a series of rapid and vigorous movements, intercepted Dhondia Waugh's force at Conaghull, where it was strongly posted, having its rear and left flank covered by a rock and the village.

Although the horse only had come up, the Colonel, with his wonted intrepidity, determined on an immediate attack ; and having placed himself at the head of the 19th and 25th Light Dragoons, and 1st and 2nd regiments of native cavalry, which he extended into one line, to prevent his being out-flanked, he formed a sudden attack on the enemy.

Dhondia's force shewed much firmness, but could not withstand the charge. His army gave way, and were

Commencement of the Mahratta War.

pursued for several miles. Dhondia himself, with immense numbers of his followers, were killed, and the whole body completely and effectually dispersed.

The thanks of General Braithwaite, and of the Governor-general in council, were conveyed to Colonel Wellesley, for the great and unremitting activity, with which he had conducted these important operations.

The Mahratta war commenced in November 1802, and Lord Clive, then at the head of the Madras government, having assembled an army of 19,000 men, the command of which he had entrusted to Lieutenant-General Stuart, it became necessary to detach a part of this force towards Poonah, the capital of the Peishwah, the British ally, which was menaced by Scindeah and Holkar..

Colonel Wellesley, having now attained the rank of a Major-General, was selected for the important command of the proposed expedition, having under him Colonel Stevenson, and a body of 35,000 men, with a proportionable train of artillery. Of this army, two-thirds were furnished as subsidy by the Nizam, and comprised altogether about 9000 native cavalry.

The Nizam's force being placed under the command of Colonel Stevenson, General Wellesley, at the head of his army of 12,000, deemed it expedient to push on with the greatest rapidity towards Poonah, as it was known that Holkar was in possession of that capital, as well as the person of the Peishwah.

On the night of the 19th of April, information having been received, that it was the determination of Holkar to plunder and burn Poonah on the approach of the British troops, General Wellesley pushed forward, over a rugged and difficult country, and through a dangerous

General Wellesley saves Poona from destruction

pass ; and after having accomplished a forced march of 60 miles, reached the Peishwa's capital in the short period of 32 hours.

The astonishing and unheard-of celerity of this movement saved Poona from its impending destruction ; and in a few days General Wellesley had the satisfaction of restoring this city to its lawful Sovereign.

It would far exceed our limits, to state the immense consequences resulting to the British interests in India, from this achievement ; they were, as might be easily conceived, of the first importance.

It will not be necessary, for the same reason, to detail the talent displayed in the taking of the city and fortress of Ameduagar ; or the rapid and masterly movements made by General Wellesley, after the reduction of that important garrison ; but shall hasten to notice the battle of Assye, which alone might for ever immortalize the name of Sir Arthur Wellesley.

Having arrived at Naulnair on the ever memorable 23rd of September, he received information that the combined Mahratta army was posted within six miles of the ground which he intended to occupy ; but that the enemy had indicated an intention of breaking up his camp and retreating, on the approach of the British army.

General Wellesley instantly perceived that not a moment was to be lost ; and, with a boldness of resolve which shewed the vigour of his judgment, determined to move forward and force the enemy to a general engagement, although Colonel Stevenson's subsidiary division, which had marched by a different route, had not joined him as he had expected.

Thus resolution having been adopted, he halted at

Battle of Assye.

refreshed his army, which had that morning marched fourteen miles. He then moved forward ; and after a further march of six miles, performed under the rays of a scorching sun, he came in sight of the enemy, posted with his right on the village of Bokerdun, and his left on that of Assye on the northern bank of the river Kaitreak, near to the Adjuntee pass.

Scindeah's army consisted of 38,500 cavalry, 10,500 regular infantry, 500 match-locks, 500 rocket men, and 190 pieces of ordnance.

General Wellesley's army consisted of only 4500 men, of whom 2000 alone were Europeans ;—a frightful inequality ! and hardly compensated, even by the superior prowess and coolness of the British army ; but the eminent abilities of their leader compensated for every other difficulty.

The British General approached in front of the enemy's right ; but finding he had posted his infantry and guns on the left, he resolved to make his attack there, made the necessary movement for that purpose, and placed the British cavalry in the rear, to cover the infantry as they moved round ; while on his right flank he stationed the cavalry of the Peishwah and Nizam.

He then forded the river beyond the left of the enemy, and formed his army in order of battle, extending his infantry in two lines, the British cavalry in a third, as a reserve, and posting the auxiliary native force so as to cover the left flank of the whole, menaced by a large body of the enemy's cavalry, which had followed them from the right of their own position.

The enemy had, by this time, commenced a distant cannonade, when General Wellesley evinced an intention

The Enemy forced to retire.

of attacking their left ; they then changed their position with great steadiness, as clearly perceiving the mode in which they were to be attacked.

The British now advanced, under a most tremendous fire of nearly 150 pieces of the enemy's ordnance, extremely well served. The English artillery, in turn, opened upon the enemy, at an interval of about 100 yards ; but were soon rendered incapable of advancing, from the number of men and bullocks that had fallen.

Such a circumstance induced the British General to abandon his guns, and to try the event of a close combat. Putting himself, therefore, at the head of his whole line, and placing the British cavalry, under Colonel Maxwell, to cover his right, he advanced with such intrepidity, as completely dismayed the Mahrattas.

Notwithstanding their numerous artillery, the enemy's forces found themselves unable to withstand such a charge, and quickly retired upon his second line, which he had posted in front of the Juah river.

Here the 74th regiment, which covered the right of the British line, having suffered severely by the enemy's cannon, was charged by a body of Mahratta cavalry ; but the British cavalry posted on the right, having repulsed them, charged, in turn, with such resistless impetuosity, that several of the enemy's battalions were driven into the Juah with immense slaughter.

The enemy's line now gave way in all directions, and were pursued by Colonel Maxwell, at the head of the British cavalry, across the Juah river, beyond which they were cut down in great numbers.

Several of the enemy's guns had been unavoidably left in the rear, during the heat of the action ; at this period they were turned upon the British troops in advance, by

The Enemy commence a second Action

the perfidious Mahrattas, who had thrown themselves on the ground, and were consequently passed unmolested by the British soldiers

Such a circumstance encouraged some of the enemy's regular infantry battalions, that had retired in rather better order, to face about and commence a second action, which, being maintained for a short time with great fury, again made the fortune of the day doubtful. But General Wellesley, with his usual gallantry, placing himself at the head of the 78th regiment, and 7th battalion of sepoys, compelled the parties who had seized the guns to surrender, though not without some further loss, and considerable personal danger to himself, his horse having been shot under him. The gallant Colonel Maxwell finished the destruction of the enemy, by charging with the 19th Light Dragoons the battalions which had rallied, and which he entirely broke and dispersed, but unfortunately fell himself in the performance of this duty. These attacks, however, proved decisive to the enemy, the Mahrattas fled in all directions, their dead, amounting to 1200, covered the field, and their wounded strewed the adjoining country for miles.

Ninety-eight pieces of cannon, the whole camp equipages of the enemy, all their bullocks and camels, and a vast quantity of ammunition, fell into the hands of the victors. When we consider that this victory was obtained by so small a number of British troops, over an enemy so immensely superior in numbers, comprising, at least, ten thousand regular infantry, formed, disciplined, and in part officered by Frenchmen, supported by the discharge of nearly one hundred pieces of cannon, served almost with the precision and science of French artillery, while hordes of Mahratta cavalry, to the amount of forty

Defeat of the Rajah of Berar's Army at Agram.

thousand, hovered around, ready to cut in upon and annihilate the little band, if the smallest disorder or mistake had taken place during the engagement;—if we consider all these circumstances, conjoined with the glorious result which followed the engagement, we must rank this victory among the most brilliant which have ever been obtained by British courage and skill.

General Wellesley now turned his attention to the Rajah of Berar's army, which, after a most fatiguing and unremitting pursuit, from the 25th of October until the 25th of November, he succeeded in overtaking.

This army he defeated on the plains of Agram, in as decisive a manner as he had done that of Scindeah at Assye, capturing the whole of their elephants and baggage, 38 pieces of cannon, and all their ammunition.

The General then turned his victorious arms against the only remaining important fortress belonging to the enemy—an almost impregnable citadel, named Gawilghar seated on the summit of a steep hill.

On the night of the 12th of December, the batteries were opened, and a practicable breach having been effected, on the morning of the 14th it was carried by escalade.

By these brilliant enterprises, the war having been brought to a conclusion, the Rajah of Berar, terrified and amazed at the rapidity of General Wellesley's operations, determined on concluding a peace, without waiting for the concurrence of his ally, Scindeah. This was instantly made known to the British General; and negotiations having been commenced on the 16th of December, the treaty of peace, between the British Government in India and the Rajah of Berar, was actually concluded the day following.

General Wellesley created Knight of the Bath.'

On the 30th of December, General Wellesley had the good fortune to conclude a peace with Scindeah. Both treaties were speedily ratified by the 'Governor-general at Calcutta; and excited the admiration of India, not only for the decision and dispatch with which these acts of diplomacy were executed, but for the moderation and equity which were evident in the conditions. General Wellesley, in 'the whole of this contest,' proved to the world that he possessed, in an eminent degree, those talents for council, as well as for the field, which cannot, without the greatest disadvantage, be separated.

The Mahratta war being thus brought to a conclusion, General Wellesley found the reward of his victories in the gratitude and love of his countrymen. A sword, valued at 1000*l.* was presented by the inhabitants of Calcutta. Thanks were voted to him by both houses of Parliament; and his Sovereign honoured him by creating him a Knight of the Bath. Added to which, the companions of his toils and dangers, as a token of their esteem and regard, presented him with a golden vase, of 2000 guineas' value.

Early in 1805, Sir Arthur, loaded with wealth and honours, so bravely and so nobly won, returned to his friends in his native country.

Soon after his return, he accompanied Lord Cathcart in his expedition to Hanover, as commander of a brigade; and this army having again returned to England, he was appointed to the command of a district on the coast. On the death of Marquis Cornwallis, he was gratified with the colonelcy of the 33rd regiment, in which he had served thirteen years as Lieutenant-Colonel.

Sir Arthur Wellesley, during the short-lived administration of Lord Grenville, represented an Irish borough

Sir Arthur Wellesley goes with the Expedition against Copenhagen.

in the British Parliament, and took an active part in the debates, as far as they concerned his brother, Marquis Wellesley, whose measures, while Governor-general of India, were then under discussion.

On the appointment of the Duke of Richmond to be Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, Sir Arthur was declared his chief Secretary, and accompanied his Grace to that kingdom. We do not take upon us to dilate upon the services exhibited by the General, during this and other employments of this nature, in which he was engaged ; but to relate his achievements.

When Lord Cathcart proceeded to the Baltic, with the expedition against Copenhagen, Sir Arthur commanded a division, and distinguished himself by defeating a detachment of Danes near Kioge ; by which victory, 60 officers, and 1500 men, with 14 pieces of cannon, and a quantity of powder and ammunition, fell into our possession.

Soon after this event, Copenhagen having surrendered, Sir Arthur was employed, with Sir Home Popham and Lieutenant-Colonel Murray, to conduct the capitulation of that city.

“ The brilliancy of the battle of Assye,” says a modern writer, “ was lost in the great distance of the scene, and in the little interest with which Indian affairs are regarded in Europe. The island of Zealand was nearer home, and the importance of the battle of Kioge was therefore better understood. All the officers and soldiers concerned, concurred in his (Sir Arthur’s) praises.” Sir Arthur returned to Great Britain, with a most considerable addition to his former reputation.

We here close this first stage of the public life of this very distinguished and accomplished character, previously

Retrospect of Circumstances.

to his sailing from Ireland to take the command of the expedition to Portugal and Spain, of which we resume the subject when we arrive at that splendid era, when the fate of kingdoms, and the recovery of Europe, depended on the prowess and the vast talents of this wonder of the age. The slight sketch, however, which we have already given, will serve as an index, how determined, how resolute in all his enterprises, and with what rapidity he followed up every advantage that occurred.

CHAPTER IX.

IT will be necessary here to detain the reader's attention with a retrospect of various circumstances, proper to be stated preparatory to the great events, which were now about to astonish the world; and to occupy this chapter with a detail of the means by which France had acquired her ascendancy over the Continent, by way of connecting our narrative.

Sir John Moore's expedition, though unhappy for that brave General, having thwarted for the present Napoleon's gigantic project upon Spain, that hero thought it advisable to relinquish his design of marching upon Cadiz and Lisbon, and therefore quitted Spain to make war upon Austria. But the Patriots did not profit much by the favourable opportunity which his absence afforded; for the army of Cuesta, after a severe engagement, was defeated at Medelin, and Soult had advanced from Galicia into Portugal, and took possession of Oporto.

Consequences of the Treaty between Great Britain and Spain.

About this period, however, a treaty of alliance having been entered into between Great Britain and Spain, another army was sent to the Peninsula, under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley, who partly effected the expulsion of the French from Portugal ; and some time afterwards, proceeding into Spain, joined the army of the Patriots under Cuesta. They had formed the rash and hazardous design of marching to Madrid, apparently without maturely weighing the probable force which the French could oppose to them. At Talavera they encountered the army under Joseph Bonaparte, aided by Jourdan, Victor, and Sebastiani ; and, after a severe engagement, the British gallantly repelled the enemy, who retreated in regular order across the Alberché. But this brilliant affair was no sooner achieved, than intelligence arrived that Soult, Ney, and Mortier, with their joint corps, had advanced through Estremadura, and were already in the rear of the British. Sir Arthur Wellesley retired on Portugal, leaving Cuesta to guard Talavera, who was soon obliged, by the approach of the French, to retreat ; leaving the sick and wounded to the mercy of the enemy. The British forces retreated to Badajos, and there remained for the rest of the year. In the battle of Alha de Tormes and of Ocana, the Spanish armies, after a vigorous resistance, were defeated and dispersed, and thus the campaign terminated. Perhaps the only beneficial result was the proof given by the Patriots, that, under a wise and efficient government, they might have been able, if not to recover their country from the dominion of the French, at least to have made a resistance so formidable, as to insure better terms in the event of a negociation. The Central Junta, acting provisionally for Ferdinand VII. were distracted by politica

differences, and fettered by stubborn and deep-rooted prejudices. They seemed to doubt how far 'they might hurt the people with the defence of their own rights ; and acted as if under an implied obligation to transmit the government, in all its hereditary imperfections and venerable deformity, into the hands of their Sovereign. The Regency of Portugal pursued the same indecisive course. To this may be traced that total want of plan which attended all the operations of the Patriot armies, disabling them from acting with their allies, and rendering victory useless, and defeats irreparable. Far from anticipating the measures which the French Emperor announced, for bettering the condition of the people, they rejected a maxim confirmed by all experience, and refused to be taught by an enemy. The contest thus resolved itself into the resistance of a weak despotism against a strong one, and its final issue was only retarded by the popular instinct of liberty, which is ever at war with the common principles of both. The British Ministry, aware of the mischiefs caused by the indecisive measures of the Spanish Junta, sent the Marquis Wellesley as ambassador, who made many earnest attempts to persuade them to alter their policy, and to adopt a line of conduct better calculated to promote the success of the common cause. The only point in which they appear to have complied with his representations, and to which they acceded with evident reluctance, was the assembling of the Cortes. A proclamation to this effect was issued, appointing an early period, as the time of their convocation.

The British Ministry had, at this period, a very hard task to encounter. They had a powerful foe to encounter, as well as the most consummate politics, with which he was assisted by some of the most shrewd characters in

AFFAIRS OF AUSTRIA

the universe ; they had also to encounter the prejudices, the self-interests, and all the other dominant tempers of those to whom they had pledged their friendship and assistance against the common enemy. The Portuguese had received ample tokens of the interest which the British Government had taken for their benefit ; and the Spaniards, in consequence of their application for British aid in repelling the French from their Peninsula, found, to their advantage, that those to whom they had applied were not backward in affording their protection in a good cause.

The Spaniards, as well as the Portuguese, had very recently experienced the bravery of the English in their favour, in which the prowess of the forces under Sir Arthur Wellesley had shone so pre-eminently. But Britain, unwilling to exercise friendship by halves, had appropriated a great portion of its revenue in support of the common cause. In fact, it was from the vast assistance forwarded from the British shores, that anything like a spirit of resistance against French tyranny, slavery, and robbery, appeared to agitate those for whom such sacrifices had been made, and such generosity been exhibited, merely on a risque.

Let us take a view of the affairs of Austria. After humiliating herself in every possible way to the French Emperor, she found it impossible to obtain peace on terms compatible, even with her existence, as an independent nation ; she therefore was compelled to place her army on a war establishment, and waited a favourable opportunity for commencing hostilities. This opportunity occurred whilst Napoleon was occupied in Spain, and the Austrian cabinet evinced a disposition to embrace it ; but his sudden return to Paris totally disconcerted their

Battle of Wagram

measures. It was, however, now too late to retract, and in consequence, the Austrian Government was under the necessity of commencing hostilities, by the invasion of Bavaria. Napoleon lost no time, but immediately placed himself at the head of his army, broke up that of the Austrians into several divisions, and having successively routed them, advanced to Vienna, which surrendered after a short resistance. He then crossed the Danube, and attacked the Archduke Charles, who, after a tremendous conflict, obtained a decisive victory, and compelled the French to retire, but, from want of proper support, was unable to follow up his success. This was the crisis of the war. All Germany ripe for revolt, nothing seemed to be wanting to give a favourable turn to the affairs of the Continent, but that formidable diversion which Great Britain had for a long time been preparing. So precarious indeed was the state of the French at this period, and for some time subsequent, that the Duke of Brunswick Oels, with a small force, was able to make an almost unmolested retreat, from the heart of Saxony to the shores of the Baltic, and the gallant Colonel Schill, by his spirited exertions, had become so very formidable, as to occasion an expression of alarm in the French bourses. At this moment ensued the fatal battle of Wagram, an account of which we subjoin, as given by the Austrian Journals.

"By the 4th, (of July, 1809,) the enemy had completed the new bridge from the Isle of Loban across a branch of the Danube, in which he was much favoured both by the ground and by an immense number of artillery. The Imperial and Royal army was drawn up on the eminence behind the rivulet Russ, extending its right wing beyond Sussessbrunn and Kagran, and its

The Enemy renew his Attack.

left beyond Markgrafen-Neusiedel. The centre was posted near Wagram. The enemy having, in the night between the 4th and 5th, crossed over to the left bank of the Danube, large masses appeared very early in the morning in the plain. Not long before noon he attacked the line of the Imperial and Royal army in all its points. But his greatest exertions were directed against the centre, probably with a view of forcing it. His attacks, though repeated with the greatest impetuosity, and supported by an immense number of ordnance, among which were many batteries of the heaviest calibre, proved this day abortive. The firing ceased at ten o'clock at night. The Imperial and Royal army had, on the whole of its line, maintained its positions and made a considerable number of prisoners, among whom there are many Saxon, Badenese, Italian, and Portuguese soldiers.

“ On the 6th, in the morning at four o'clock, the enemy renewed his attacks with still larger masses and greater impetuosity than on the preceding day. Even thus his efforts against the centre and the right wing were attended with so little success, that the latter had even gained such advantages, as to justify the expectation of the completest victory, when the enemy, with fresh divisions and great superiority, suddenly penetrated the left wing near Mackgrafen-Neusiedel, and succeeded, after an obstinate engagement, in compelling it to retreat. One of the wings of the Royal and Imperial army being thereby exposed, his Imperial and Royal Highness the Archduke and Generalissimo, has directed the retreat by the way of Siammersdorf and the Bisamhill, in consequence of which the army occupies a new position, covering the communication with Bohemia. This retreat was made good in the best order, and without material loss.

Result of the Battle of Wagram

" In the centre, as well as in the right wing, the enemy suffered very considerably. Six thousand prisoners were taken from him, among whom were three Generals. He likewise lost twelve cannon with ammunition, and was in every respect so much weakened, that he has not attempted since to pursue the Royal and Imperial army further — General Lasalle is among his dead.

" The Imperial and Royal army has also to lament a great loss. In General Nordman it has been deprived of a very eminent officer. Generals Peter Vecsal, D'Aspre, and Vukassovitz, are without hopes of recovery. Generals Prince of Hesse Homberg, Stutterheim, and Paab, are less severely wounded. His Imperial Highness the Generalissimo himself, and Prince Lichtenstein, received slight musket-wounds, which, however, will not be attended with any dangerous consequences. It remains to be observed, that the whole army has again afforded such proofs of courage and perseverance, as not to cloud our future prospects with any apprehensions."

Though the preceding account of this battle, given officially by the Austrians, may appear in some degree of a favourable nature, yet the results of that battle were very humiliating to the German Emperor and his dominions. Napoleon, whose active and uneasy spirit was ever on the alert, pushed the advantages he had thus gained to the uttermost, his numerous hosts bore down all before them, and as neither he nor his armies were particular in their destructive policy of marauding and indiscriminate spoil, wherever they gained advantage, we must not be surprised that no terms of regular warfare were attended to, and that every method was resorted to, to strike terror among the vanquished. This was

Treaty of Peace between Austria and France.

evidently the case in the battle of Wagram, in which the Austrians were routed, and their Emperor compelled to sue for an armistice, which, after a protracted negociation, was followed by a treaty of peace. According to the terms of this treaty, Austria ceded a great portion of her territory; agreed to a contribution to indemnify France for the expences of the war; and acknowledge Joseph Bonaparte King of Spain. To the King of Bavaria she gave up Salzburg, and a tract of country along the banks of the Danube, from Passau to Lintz. To the King of Saxony she yielded the whole of Western Gallicia; to Russia so much of the eastern part of that province as contained a population of 400,000 souls. To France she ceded Fiume and Trieste, with the whole of the country south of the Saave, to where that river enters Bosnia. She also gave up the inhabitants of the Tyrol, on condition of their receiving from Bonaparte a full and free pardon.

This brave people had manifested an heroic spirit of independence, and continued to resist the French long after they were abandoned by the government in whose cause they fought. After repeatedly expelling the invaders of their country, they were at length subdued; their gallant Chief, Hosser, was taken, and, as no further mention was made of him by the captors, his fate may be but too well conjectured.

During this eventful period, Sweden had become the prey of French intrigue. Impoverished by the loss of her detached province of Pomerania, she had been engaged in an arduous and unequal war against Russia, by which the whole of Finland had also been wrested from her. The distress and misery occasioned by these misfortunes were aggravated by the eruption of an infectious disorder,

which greatly thinned the population. But, undismayed by this triple scourge of war, pestilence, and famine, the Swedish Monarch persisted in an unavailing opposition to France, which urged popular discontent, and fomented a revolution, which removed him from the throne. He was succeeded by his uncle, Charles, Duke of Sodermania, who became a willing agent in the blockading system of Bonaparte, and agreed to close his ports against the commerce of Great Britain.

Denmark, too weak, since the loss of her navy, to maintain even a shadow of independence, exposed to the maritime hostility of Great Britain on the one hand, and to the military thralldom of France on the other, suffered greatly from the pressure of the war. Her interest obviously inclined her to cultivate a commercial intercourse with Great Britain, yet she was compelled to forego that interest almost wholly, as the small portion of her trade that remained, lay entirely at the mercy of the French Ruler and his subjects.

Russia, though jealous of the growing power of France, remained under her control, this may be gathered from the declaration of the two Emperors at Erfurth. She had concurred, with apparent reluctance, in the war against Austria, an army under Prince Gallitzin penetrated into Gallicia, but its movements were so tardy, that there is reason to believe it was destined to wait the result of the contest, and to side with the victor. This demonstrative co-operation was requited at the peace by the cession of territory before mentioned. In the war with Sweden she had acquired the province of Finland, the rivers Tornes and Meconio, the sea of Oland and the Gulf of Bothnia being fixed, by treaty, as the future boundaries of the two states. On the establishment of

Affairs of the Turkish Empire and Holland.

peace between Great Britain and Turkey her arms were directed against the latter powers, but, notwithstanding the advantage of another revolution at Constantinople, they were attended with no decisive success. On viewing, therefore, the internal condition of the Russian Empire, it was apparent, that great inconvenience and much dissatisfaction arose from the adoption of the French anti-commercial system; and these effects might be considered as tending to advance the interests of Napoleon, in weakening the government, by alienating the people from their monarch.

The Turkish Empire was at this time a prey to intestine commotions, and seemed ready to follow the fate of all those governments, which, in the successive convulsions of Europe, by their own imbecility, and disgraceful adherence to feudal tyrannies, had been overthrown or enthralled.

The kingdom of Holland, fitted by nature and the habits of its people for the pursuits of commerce, suffered so severely by the continental system, that its ruler, in order to relieve the distresses of his subjects, relaxed the severe restrictions which his brother had obliged him to impose on their trade with England. This conciliatory policy by no means suited the arbitrary views of the French Despot, who, bent on the total exclusion of the English from the Continent, determined to reduce all the states of that vast tract under an entire submission to his will. He doubled the number of custom-house officers in all the Dutch ports and trading towns, and ordered his pacific brother to Paris, to receive new lessons of discipline in the art of governing; which was a measure preparatory to an important change, which Bonaparte had in contemplation, to affect the affairs of Holland.

For this purpose, Napoleon found, in his younger brother Jerome, a more tractable, if not a more apt pupil. The kingdom of Westphalia he had consolidated from portions of territory and population wrested from Prussia, Hesse, Hanover, Brunswick, and other states, in which he also formed a complete epitome of the French Empire, in the nature of its legislation and government. The law of conscription and the system of commercial exclusion prevailed there in full force, and reduced the heterogeneous mass to a condition purely military. A state so constituted, in the midst of what was denominated the Rhenish confederacy, operated as a powerful check on them, and served as an *appui* to France, in the future extension of her conquests.

With respect to Prussia, that nation, paralysed by the shock of the French arms, its finances ruined, and its resources destroyed by the dire effects of war, monopoly, and abusive restrictions, had indeed become equally insignificant, both as a military and as a commercial state.

Let us take a summary retrospect across the Atlantic, and we shall find, that the intercourse of America with Europe had been completely interrupted by the prohibitory decrees of Napoleon, and by the orders in council of the British government. The Americans considering these measures as equally an invasion on their commercial rights, that government passed a non-intercourse act against both the belligerents. The differences of America with Great Britain originated in two sources, the attack on the Chesapeake frigate, and the above orders in council. The British minister, Mr. Erskine, had offered reparation for the one, and a suspension of the other, on condition that America should renew her

Agriculture and Manufactures increase in America.

intercourse with Great Britain. These proposals were received with great satisfaction, and preparations were making to revive the trade, when orders arrived for the recal of Mr. Erskine, declaring that the arrangement he had made was unauthorised by his instructions. Mr. Jackson, who succeeded him, had to renew the negociation under the disadvantages arising from the disappointment of the Americans, among whom he was on other accounts unpopular. A correspondence took place between him and the secretary of the United States, which, as it consisted chiefly in recrimination on their respective governments, tended rather to aggravate than to assuage the dispute; and at length Mr. Jackson became so obnoxious, that the American ministers declined all further intercourse with him.

The fairest opportunity for terminating the dispute had certainly been afforded by Mr. Erskine's arrangement; and it is much to be lamented, that the British government had not confirmed it, although, at the same time, it might have been proper to recal the negotiator.

The Americans sought an equivalent for the loss of commerce, by promoting agriculture and domestic manufactures; and it was a subject of exultation in Mr. Jefferson's (the president) speech, "that the arbitrary edicts of the contending powers had produced a revolution in the pursuits and habits of the people, and had directed them to improve their internal resources, and thus to render themselves less dependant on foreign intercourse."

Among the other transatlantic states, the extraordinary events of revolutionary principles produced in Europe had tended to foment changes. France lost her few remaining possessions, and was frustrated in her design of

East Indies threatened by Foreign Hostilities

subjugating the Spanish colonies. The arbitrary and absurd policy which the mother country had, from the earliest times, exercised towards these dependencies, did not entirely alienate them; and, probably, their attachment was rather strengthened by a sense of indignation at the insults and oppressions of their new enemy. Yet many expressions of public feeling testified that the time was fast approaching, when, by the natural course of human affairs, they should assert their independence. The conduct of Great Britain towards them grounded her alliance with Spain, and she abjured every project of seconding revolutionary proceedings, and of severing those possessions from the dominion of Ferdinand VII. With respect to the Brazils, the trade of Great Britain though necessarily limited, was rendered more productive by the abolition of certain vexatious imports and by other beneficial measures to which the Portuguese court acceded, for the mutual benefit of the two countries.

We have yet to learn from experience whether the commercial advantages at all times, arising from our acquisitions in the West Indies, are capable of counterbalancing to us the loss of our European markets. In a military point of view, it certainly may fairly be questioned, whether the necessary drain of valuable troops in retaining them can be adequately repaid by any accession, however apparently important.

The East Indies were now threatened by foreign hostilities, and internal disputes, for Buonaparte, by means of his diplomatic and military emissaries, had endeavoured to persuade the court of Persia to make war on the English possessions. The governor general made warlike demonstrations against that empire, but at the same time despatched Sir Harford Jones as ambassador, who suc-

Mr. Curwen's Bill Passed.

eeded in destroying the French influence ; and the good understanding thus restored with Great Britain, was testified on the part of the Persian government by the arrival of an embassy to London. At Madras, however, discord gained its malign influence, by disputes of a serious nature which took place between the civil and military governments, arising from certain allegations of grievance by the officers who commanded the native troops ; and matters grew so serious, that an appeal was made to the governor in council, who was compelled to adopt severe and rigorous measures before the restoration of tranquillity could be established.

In reverting to the affairs of Great Britain, during this period, we find that the labours of ministers, for the deliverance of the continent, were interrupted by concerns of a domestic nature, which occupied parliament during almost the whole of the session of 1809. An investigation into conduct highly reprehensible, which led to the discovery of many public abuses wherein persons of high rank and office were implicated. Although these abuses were notorious, yet the principal delinquents escaped punishment, it being deemed more expedient to provide security for the future, than to obtain indemnity for the past. For the prevention of the sale of seats in the house of commons, (a practice destructive of all public and private integrity,) several plans were brought forward and rejected. The enactment of Mr. Curwen's bill, for better securing the purity of parliament, was however, at length, after several modifications enacted.

The correspondence, occasioned by the overtures of the Russian and French emperors from Erfurth, was laid before both houses and painly demonstrated the impossibility of making peace, consistently with those prin-

Sir John Stuart's Expedition against Italy, &c.

plies which Great Britain had proclaimed, and acted upon throughout the war, and more particularly after the commencement of the war in Spain. On the renewal of war between Austria and France, it was resolved to second the exertions of our ally, by creating a most powerful diversion in her favour. With this view, preparations had been made for a most extensive and formidable expedition, which should not only relieve Austria from the pressure of the war by distracting the attention of the enemy, but at the same time accomplish an object highly important to the interests of Great Britain. While the most anxious endeavours were making to hasten the execution of this plan, it was also deemed expedient to commence hostilities in another quarter. With this view, Sir John Stuart, who commanded the British forces in Sicily, undertook an expedition against the south of Italy and the kingdom of Naples. He embarked with 15,000 British, and was soon afterwards joined by a body of Sicilians, under one of the native princes. The better to secure the object of his expedition, he sent a detachment to Lower Calabria, which seized the line of posts that the French had formed opposite Messina. With his main body he proceeded against the islands of Ischia and Procida, and in a short time captured both these islands; but this success only afforded the means for ascertaining that the great object of the expedition, was unattainable. Murat had recalled

considerable force which was on its march to co-operate with the French in the North. He had likewise collected a body of national guards, and was further reinforced by the troops which had taken possession of the Papal states. In addition to the resistance to be expected from this concentrated force, the apathy of the Neapolitans, to any proposal of deliverance, operated as a serious ob-

Expedition under Chatham lands at Walcheren.

stacle. They chose to submit to the tyranny of their usurpers rather than make any effort to restore their legitimate sovereign, from whom they had not been taught to expect any very earnest endeavours for the bettering of their condition. Yet, notwithstanding this disappointment, Sir John Stuart deemed it advisable to retain Ischia, in order to control the operations of the enemy, and to prevent him from sending any assistance to the army in Upper Italy. After some further hostilities, however, during which the castle of Scilla was taken, and for a short time held by the British, the increased force of the French rendered it necessary to evacuate our conquests, and the troops at length returned to Sicily.

Meanwhile, the preparations, that were making on the English coast for a grand expedition, were stimulated and encouraged by the reverses of the French on the Danube, and by the reviving spirit of the German patriots. A force amounting to upwards of 40,000 men, aided by nearly thirty sail of the line, and a full quota of frigates, gun boats, &c. forming the most numerous and well appointed armament that ever left the shores of this country, was at length in perfect readiness for sailing, when intelligence arrived announcing the defeat of the Austrians at Wagram, and the armistice between the emperors of Austria and France. A reverse, so untoward, occasioned serious embarrassment, but the cause was not on that account given up for lost; the impression made by a force so mighty, might give new impulsion to the war, and at all events might answer the other purpose for which it was destined, the capture of Antwerp and of the French navy in the Scheldt. The expedition, under the command of the Earl of Chatham, sailed, and landing at Walcheren, after a fortnight's siege took Flushing.

Troops at Walcheren attacked by a Fever.

It was soon afterwards discovered that the ulterior objects of the enterprise were defeated. The French had by some means or other acquired an early intimation of the point to which this great armament would be directed; and before it left the English coast, had taken measures for the defence of Antwerp, and for the protection of the navy stationed there. Lord Chatham, determining not to sacrifice the lives of his soldiers to the attainment of a fruitless victory, embarked with the greater part of the army and returned home; the troops that remained, gave up all their conquests except Walcheron, which the British ministry determined to retain, as a key to the Scheldt, and as an *entrepôl* for the trade between Great Britain and Holland. Here the troops were attacked by an enemy far more formidable than the French army, a pestilential fever incident to the climate. Against this foe a reinforcement of physicians was sent, whose operations, combined with that of the frost, partly checked its ravages. Still the mortality was dreadful, and therefore a greater loss to the nation than could ever be compensated by the retention of so dear-bought a conquest. The army, thinned and weakened by disease, quitted and destroyed the barracks they had built, blew up the fortifications they had repaired, evacuated this ill-fated island, and returned to England.

Archduke Charles Retires from the Army.

CHAPTER X.

IT seemed now as though Bonaparte was an instrument doomed by the Almighty, in his own inscrutable ways, to be the instrument of destruction to all the empires and kingdoms of the continent ; and that all opposition to him, as far as the continent was concerned, was struggling against an invincible necessity.

The Austrian government was now upon the point of terminating a negotiation for peace with France—a peace most humiliating ; but how could it act otherwise ? All the conditions of the armistice subsequent to the battle of Wagram had been fulfilled ; a circumstance, which of itself had left Austria defenceless : so that were that government to break with Napoleon, he had it in his power to annihilate the Austrian name. The archduke Charles of Austria had retired in disgust of the army : for he had lamentably perceived, that that army, so brave in former campaigns, had forborn their accustomed prowess, had given disgraceful advantage to the enemy, and consequent defeat. His highness also seemed to think that some hidden cause had furthered the disaster ; and that those who professed themselves at the court of Vienna to be the friends of the sovereign and of the state, were much wanting in substantiating their professions. Indeed he might have been induced to form his opinions that Austria had been conquered on account of those who basked in the affluence which their mere rank had procured for

them and which had also filled all the offices in the state and the army. Such men as these were the most likely to sell their country to a vindictive enemy, or to have betrayed it by their cowardice. It was equally mischievous to the country, which was desolated and enslaved at the will of one who abided by no principles of rectitude to accomplish his boundless ambition.

Spain had undoubtedly been conquered on account of the actual degeneracy of the whole nation ; the king, the nobility, and the whole people formed a disordered mass, liable to any impression ; and, therefore, an easy prey to any bold intruder. The generous assistance to save them from ruin had been ineffectual ; and the hero who had done so much in their favour at the battle of Talavera, had found it necessary to retreat to Deleytosa. The inconveniences which he sustained are best described in his own dispatches to lord Castlereagh :

MY LORD, *Deleytosa, Aug. 8, 1809.*

“ I apprised your Lordship, on the first instant, of the advance of a French corps towards the Puerto de Banos, and of the probable embarrassments to the operations of the army which its arrival at Plasencia would occasion ; and these embarrassments having since existed to a degree so considerable as to oblige us to fall back, and to take up a defensive position on the Tagus, I am induced to trouble you at length with an account of what has passed upon this subject.

“ When I entered Spain, I had a communication with General Cuesta, through Sir Robert Wilson and Colonel Roche, respecting the occupation of the Puerto de Banos and the Puerto de Perales, the former of which, it was at last settled, should be held by a corps to be formed under the Marquis de la Reyna, to consist of two battalions

Affairs of the army in Spain.

from General Cuesta's army, and two from Béjar; and that the Puerto de Perales was to be taken care of by the Duque del Parque, by detachments from the garrison of Ciudad Rodrigo.

“ I doubted of the capacity of the garrison of Ciudad Rodrigo to make the detachment to the latter, but so little of the effectual occupation of the former, that in writing to Marshal Beresford on the 17th July, I desired him to look to the Puerto de Perales, but that I considered Banos as secure, as appears by the extract of my latter which I inclose.

“ On the 30th intelligence was received at Talavera, that 12,000 rations had been ordered at Fuente Duenos for the 28th, and 24,000 at Los Santos for the same day, for a French corps, which it was believed was on its march towards the Puerto de Banos.

“ General Cuesta expressed some anxiety respecting this post, and sent me a message, to propose that Sir Robert Wilson should be sent there with his corps.

“ Sir Robert was on that day at Talavera, but his corps was in the Mountains towards Escalona; and as he had already made himself very useful in that quarter, and had been near Madrid, with which City he had had a communication, which I was desirous of keeping up, I proposed that a Spanish corps should be sent to Banos without loss of time.

“ I could not prevail with Gen. Cuesta, although he certainly admitted the necessity of a reinforcement, when he proposed that Sir Robert should be sent to Banos; and he was equally sensible with myself, of the benefit to be derived to the cause, from sending Sir. Robert back to Escalona.

“ At this time we had no further intelligence of the ene-

Affairs of the Army in Spain

my's advance, than that the rations were ordered, and I had hopes that the enemy might be deterred from advancing, by the intelligence of our success on the 28th, and that the troops in the Puerto might make some defence, and that under these circumstances, it was not desirable to divert Sir Robert Wilson from Escalona

" On the 30th, however, I renewed my application to General Cuesta, to send there a Spanish division of sufficient strength, in a letter to General O'Donoghue, of which I inclose a copy, but without effect, and he did not detach General Bassecourt till the morning of the 2d. after we had heard that the enemy had entered Bejar, and it was obvious that the troops in the Puerto would make no defence. } }

" On the 2d we received accounts, that the enemy had entered Plasencia in two columns

" The Marquis de la Reyna, whose two battalions consisted of only 600 men, with only 20 rounds of ammunition each man, retired from the Puerto and from Plasencia, without firing a shot, and went to the bridge of Almaraz, which he declared that he intended to remove the battalions of Bejar dispersed without making any resistance

" The General called upon me on that day, and proposed that half of the army should march to the rear to oppose the enemy, while the other half should maintain the post at Talavera

" My answer was, that if by half the army, he meant half of each army, I could only answer that I was ready either to go or to stay with the whole British army, but that I could not separate it. He then desired me to chuse whether I would go or stay, and I preferred to go, from thinking that the British troops were most likely to do the business effectually, and without contest, and

Affairs of the Army in Spain.

from being of opinion was more important to us than to the Spanish army, that to open the communication through Plasencia, although very important to them. With this decision, General Cuesta appeared perfectly satisfied.

“ The movements of the enemy in our front since the 1st, had induced me to be of opinion, that despairing of forcing us at Talavera, they intended to force a passage by Escalona, and thus to open a communication with the French corps coming from Plasencia.

“ This suspicion was confirmed on the night of the 2d, by letters received from Sir Robert Wilson, of which I inclose copies; and before I quitted Talavera on the 3d, I waited upon General O'Donoghue and conversed with him upon the whole of our situation, and pointed out to him the possibility that in the case of the enemy coming through Escalona, General Cuesta might find himself obliged to quit Talavera, before I should be able to return to him; and I urged him to collect all the carts that could be got, in order to remove our hospital. At his desire I put the purport of this conversation in writing, and sent him a letter to be laid before General Cuesta, of which I enclose a copy.

“ The British army marched on the 3d to Oropesa, General Bassecourt's Spanish corps being at Centinello, where I desired that it might halt the next day, in order that I might be nearer it.

“ About five o'clock in the evening, I heard that the French had arrived from Plasencia at Navalmoral, whereby they were between us and the bridge of Almaraz.

“ About an hour afterwards, I received from Gen. O'Donoghue the letter and its inclosures, of which I inclose copies, announcing to me the intention of General Cuesta to march from Talavera in the evening, and to

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"The General called upon me on that day, and proposed that half of the army should march to the rear to oppose the enemy, while the other half should maintain the post at Talayera

" My answer was, that if by half the army, he meant half of each army, I could only answer that I was ready either to go or to stay with the whole British army, but that I could not separate it. He then desired me to chuse whether I would go or stay, and I preferred to go, from thinking that the British troops were most likely to do the business effectually, and without contest, and

Affairs of the Army in Spain.

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leave there my hospital, excepting such men as could be moved by the means he already had, on the ground of his apprehension that I was not strong enough for the corps coming from Plasencia, and that the enemy was moving upon his flank, and had returned to Santa Olalla in his front.

" I acknowledged that these reasons did not appear to me sufficient for giving up so important a post as Talavera, for exposing the combined armies to an attack in front and rear at the same time, and for abandoning my hospital, and I wrote the letter of which I inclose a copy.

" This unfortunately reached the General after he had marched, and he arrived at Oropesa shortly after daylight, on the morning of the 4th.

" The question what was to be done, was then to be considered. The enemy, stated to be thirty thousand strong, but at all events consisting of the corps of Soult and Ney, either united, or not very distant from each other, and supposed by Marshal Jourdan and Joseph Bonaparte, to be sufficiently strong to attack the British army, stated to be twenty-five thousand strong, were on one side, in possession of the high road to the passage of the Tagus at Almaraz, the bridge at which place we knew had been removed, although the boats still necessarily remained in the River.

" On the other side, we had reason to expect the advance of Victor's corps to Talavera, as soon as Gen. Cuesta's march should be known, and after leaving 12,000 men to watch Vanegas, and allowing from 10 to 11,000 killed and wounded in the late action, that corps would have amounted to 25,000. We could extricate ourselves from this difficult situation only by great celerity of movement, to which the troops were unequal, as they had not

Affairs of the Army in Spain.

had their allowance of provisions for several days, and by success in two battles. If unsuccessful in either, we should have been without a retreat; and if Soult and Ney, avoiding an action, had retired before us, and had waited the arrival of Victor, we should have been exposed to a general action with 50,000 men, equally without a retreat.

" We had reason to expect, that as the Marquis de la Reyna could not remove the boats from the river Almaraz, Soult would have destroyed them.

" Our only retreat was, therefore, by the bridge of Argo Bispo; and if we had moved on, the enemy, by breaking that bridge while the army should be engaged with Soult and Ney, would have deprived us of that only resource.

" We could not take a position at Oropesa, as we thereby left open the road to the bridge of Argo Bispo from Talavera by Calera; and, after considering the whole subject maturely, I was of opinion that it was adviseable to retire to the bridge of Argo Bispo, and to take up a defensive position upon the Tagus.

" I was induced to adopt this last opinion, because the French have now at least 50,000 men disposeable to oppose to the combined armies, and a corps of 12,000 to watch Vanegas; and I was likewise of opinion, that the sooner the defensive line should be taken up, the more likely were the troops to be able to defend it.

" Accordingly I marched on the 4th, and crossed the Tagus by the bridge of Argo Bispo, and have continued my route to this place, in which I am well situated to defend the Passage of Almaraz and the lower parts of the Tagus. Gen. Cuesta crossed the river on the night of the 5th, and he is still at the Bridge of Argo Bispo.

" About 2000 of the wounded have been brought

Dissents in the British Cabinet.

from Talavera, the remaining 1500 are there: and I doubt whether, under any circumstances, it would have been possible or consistent with humanity, to attempt to remove any more of them.

" From the treatment which some of the soldiers wounded on the 27th, and who fell into the hands of the enemy, experienced from them, and from the manner in which I have always treated the wounded who have fallen into my hands, I expect that these men will be well treated; and I have only to lament, that a new concurrence of events, over which from circumstances I had and could have no controul, should have placed the army in a situation to be obliged to leave any of them behind.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ARTHUR WELLESLEY."

Sir Arthur was, within a short time after this despatch, raised to the peerage of Great Britain. The grant is given in the London Gazette, August 26, by which it is stated that the Right Honourable Sir Arthur Wellesley, Knight of the most honourable order of the Bath, and lieutenant-general of his Majesty's forces, (and his heirs male lawfully begotten) is raised to the dignity of the peerage by the names, styles, and titles of Baron Dours of Wellesley, in the county of Somerset, and Viscount Wellington of Talavera, and of Wellington, in the said county."

A circumstance now occurred in Great Britain which might have been productive of very unpropitious consequences. This arose from violent dissents in the British cabinet. The origin of these disputes had arisen in some degree from the constitution of that cabinet.

Upon the death of Mr. Pitt, his ministry, as far as it survived him, still was in possession of public regard, and

Innovations of the Grenville Party.

might have retained that regard had they felt sufficient confidence in themselves; nay, the people manifested such confidence in them, that had they relied on that confidence, and acted with becoming resolution, they might have defied all opposition. Their judicious director, however, having been taken from them very unfortunately at a very difficult crisis, at a time also, when every thing seemed lost, in consequence of the battle of Austerlitz much was wanting to defend the conduct of the administration who had advised the measure which had so unhappily concluded. The associates of Mr. Pitt withdrew themselves from the difficult task, and the sovereign reduced to the greatest necessity, was compelled to call to his assistance the coalition party of Fox and Grenville. But true to their patriotic principles they had so often avowed, the Pitt administration, now placed in capacity of opponents, rather assisted than contradicted the ministry of the day; and the country must be long grateful to them for their disinterested conduct, during the existence of that short-lived administration.

The Grenville ministry, now feeling itself unobstructed, became the dictators to their sovereign and his kingdom; and, at length, carried their principles of innovation to such a pitch, as to threaten the very being of all which could be denominated establishment, and even to attack fundamental laws. But providentially, that happened to the Grenville ministry which must necessarily happen to all such ministries, when founded upon such coalitions. The superior genius of Mr. Fox, attracted all to itself, and he affixed his own character and principle to the system over which he bore rule. The Grenvilles became reformers, innovators, and enemies in array against the established church; but the sovereign

Character of Mr Pitt.

and nation being equally alarmed, and the death of Mr. Fox having furnished a favourable opportunity for a change, the Fox administration were soon dismissed.

The Portland administration now resumed its influence. Not expecting such a change, the members of it were astonished, but the commands of the sovereign were decisive, and though they neither expected, nor were prepared for such a sudden vicissitude, and were so dissident of their own strength, as to be at a loss whether to obey or decline, they had but a moment to determine. The King had given his positive commands, and they were implicitly obeyed.

But a great difficulty now arose. The administration of Mr. Pitt had been under his own controul. His vast abilities had rendered him capable of being sole director of the affairs of the nation so that it was only necessary to have abilities, however great in themselves, still subordinate to his which were transcendent, they were therefore arranged according to their respective acquirements, movements acted upon as the great machine was in motion, and they preserved their ranks and stations, and were wise enough to consider, that as all their efforts tended to the public good, they assisted to promote so patriotic an object without jealousy, self-interest or murmuring. They were convinced that Mr. Pitt was acknowledged by all parties to be possessed of most superior talents, and that he was incorruptible. They were proud to be subordinate to him who had defied the house of commons "to prove, that he had ever converted a farthing of the public funds to his private purpose!" They therefore looked up to him as a master and leader, and, under his influence, a kind of civil and self-imposed respect reigned in the cabinet. His authority was just, though not severe. Circumstances now were changed. The leader was

Duel between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning.

now gone—his place vacant—and all aimed to fill it, with but very partial abilities. Their claims were just; for they had all been his pupils. But his sudden decease had reduced them to such a seeming equality, that all fancied themselves eligible, without considering the justice of their claims. This mode of thinking rendered the arrangements of the cabinet a matter of the greatest difficulty. Each thought himself injured by any preference given to another; and though no one was presumed to be possessed of commanding abilities in the eyes of others, after so eminent a character as Mr. Pitt, yet no one was willing to concede. They were all great characters, and therefore unwilling to allow any superiority.

Of these jealousies the most prominent opponents were lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning. The first a principal assistant to the late Mr. Pitt: the latter possessing vast talents, genius, and knowledge. But the preference having been given to Mr. Canning, a cordial co-operation had not ensued; an official misunderstanding induced a duel, and we regret that the peace and comfort of the sovereign should have been impaired by such undignified dissensions. But the example of cabinet counsellors in that piece of *mutual assassination*, denominated duelling, is surely dangerous in the extreme: for, it leads to corrupt public opinion, and even, by a very natural and intelligible influence, to soften down the interpretation of the law, as it actually stands. With what reluctance must a judge declare duelling to be murder, and a minister recommend the execution of the consequent sentence in council, when that minister himself is a duellist!* Such

* The only letters which passed between lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning on this unhappy occasion were the following,

Dissensions between Lord Castlereagh and Mr Canning

was the situation of the British cabinet however, when Bonaparte was desolating the world?

The consequence of the pitiful dissensions of two great men was the loss of their acknowledged beneficial services

St. James's Square,
19th September, 1809

SIR,

It is unnecessary for me to enter into any detailed statement of the circumstances which preceded the recent resignations. It is enough for me, with a view to the immediate object of this letter, to state, that it appears a proposition had been agitated, without any communication with me, for my removal from the War Department, and that you, towards the close of the last Session, having urged a decision upon this question, with the alternative of your seceding from the government, procured a positive promise from the Duke of Portland (the execution of which you afterwards considered yourself entitled to enforce), that such removal should be carried into effect. Notwithstanding this promise, by which I consider you pronounced it unfit that I should remain charged with the conduct of the war, and by which my situation as a minister of the crown was made dependent upon your will and pleasure, you continued to sit in the same cabinet with me, and to leave me not only in the persuasion that I possessed your confidence and support as a colleague, but you allowed me in breach of every principle of good faith both public and private, though thus virtually superseded, to originate and proceed in the execution of a new enterprise of the most arduous and important nature, with your apparent concurrence, and ostensible approbation.

You were fully aware that if my situation in the government had been disclosed to me, I could not have submitted to remain one moment in office, without the entire abandonment of my private honour, and public duty. You knew I was deceived, and you continued to deceive me.

I am aware, it may be said, which I am ready to acknowledge, that when you pressed for a decision for my removal,

A new Administration formed.

to their king and their country. A new administration was formed, at the head of which was placed Marquis Wellesley.

The negotiation for peace between Bonaparte and the

you also pressed for its disclosure, and that it was resisted by the Duke of Portland, and some members of the government supposed to be my friends. But I never can admit, that you have a right to make use of such a plea, in justification of an act affecting my honour, nor that the sentiments of others could justify an acquiescence in such a delusion on your part, who had yourself felt and stated its unfairness. Nor can I admit that the head of any administration, or any supposed friend, (whatever may be their motives) can authorize or sanction any man in such a course of long and persevering deception. For were I to admit such a principle, my honour and character would be from that moment in the discretion of persons wholly unauthorized, and known to you to be unauthorized, to act for me in such a case. It was therefore your act and your conduct which deceived me; and it is impossible for me to acquiesce in being placed in a situation by you, which no man of honour could knowingly submit to, nor patiently suffer himself to be betrayed into, without forfeiting that character.

I have no right, as a public man, to resent your demanding, upon public grounds, my removal from the particular office I have held, or even from the administration, as a condition of your continuing a member of the government. But I have a distinct right to expect that a proposition, justifiable in itself, shall not be executed in an unjustifiable manner, and at the expence of my honour and reputation. And I consider that you were bound, at least, to avail yourself of the same alternative, namely, your own resignation, to take yourself out of the predicament of practising such a deceit towards me, which you did exercise in demanding a decision for my removal.

Peace signed between France and Austria

emperor Francis continued without interruption at Altenburgh. On the 11th of October the following first official notification of the conclusion of the treaty between Austria and France, appeared in the Amsterdam Courant Extraordinary.

"We hasten to inform our respectable readers, that the Burgo-Master of this city received, at an early hour this morning, by express, a letter from his excellency the minister at war, dated at Loo, on the 10th instant, containing an official notification of peace having been signed between France and Austria on the 3d of this month."

"The above important intelligence was immediately announced to the citizens by the firing of the cannon on the city walls, the ringing of bells, and the playing of the chimes."

"We cordially congratulate our readers upon this intelligence, so joyful to humanity, and hope that it will be speedily followed by a general peace."

The treaty of peace was signed at Vienna on the 15th

Under these circumstances, I must require that satisfaction from you to which I feel myself entitled to my claim.

I am, &c.

CASTLEREAGH

The Right Hon George Canning
&c &c &c

My Lord, Gloucester Lodge, Sept. 20, 1809.

The tone and the purport of your Lordship's letter, which I have this moment received, of course preclude any other answer on my part to the misapprehensions and misrepresentations with which it abounds, than that I will cheerfully give to your Lordship the satisfaction which you require.

I am, &c GEORGE CANNING
Lord Viscount Castlereagh, &c &c. &c.

Bonaparte's Letter to the Emperor of Russia.

of October by which the emperor of Austria ceded to Napoleon the following provinces and districts ; Galicia Tiume, Trieste and Istria, as additions to the kingdom of Italy ; the territory of Bavaria extended ; Tyrol and Salzburg to be under the sovereignty of the grand duke of Wurtzburg ; Bavaria to be indemnified by a portion of Wurtzburg ; the frontiers of the duchy of Warsaw to be extended to the river Soan, and other cessions equally humiliating.

During the negotiation of this peace, Napoleon dispatched the following extraordinary epistle to the emperor of Russia :

Monsieur My Brother,

“ The duke of Vicenza informs me that your imperial majesty wished for peace with Sweden, and that you have obtained the advantages which you desired. Will your majesty permit me to congratulate you upon the event ?

“ The negotiations of Altenburg have been transferred to Vienna. Prince John, of Lichtenstein, conducts them with M. De Champagny, and I expect I shall soon be able to inform your majesty of peace being concluded with Austria. You will see by the treaty, that, conformably to your wishes, the greater part of Galicia will not change masters ; and that I have managed your interests as you would have done yourself, conciliating every thing with what honour required of me. The prosperity and welfare of the duchy of Warsaw require that it should possess the favourable regards of your majesty ; and your majesty's subjects may rest assured that, in no case, nor under any circumstances, have they to expect any protection from me.

“ I have given to Austria the most advantageous peace she could expect. She only loses Salzburg, and

Bonaparte's Letter to the Emperor of Russia.

a mere trifle on the side of the Inn. She cedes nothing in Bohemia. On the side of Italy she cedes only what is indispensable for my communication with Dalmatia. The Austrian monarchy, therefore remains entire. This is the second experiment which I have been willing to make. I have used towards her a moderation which she had no right to expect. In this I hope I have done what is gratifying to your majesty.

" I send your majesty the English Journals last received. You will there see, that the English ministers are fighting with each other; that there is a revolution in the ministry, and that all is perfect anarchy. The folly and absurdity of that cabinet are beyond description. They have recently occasioned the destruction of from 25 to 30,000 men in the most horrible country in the world; it would have been just as well to have thrown them into the sea; so pestilential are the marshes of Walcheren! In Spain they have lost a very considerable number of men. General Wellesley has had the extreme imprudence to commit himself in the heart of Spain with 30,000 men, having on his flanks three armies, consisting of 90 battalions, and from 40 to 50 squadrons, whilst he had in his front the army commanded by the king, which was of equal force. It is difficult to conceive such an act of presumption. It remains at present to be ascertained who are to succeed the late ministry.

" The United States are on the worst terms with England, and seem disposed, sincerely and seriously, to approximate to our system.

" I pray God, Monsieur my brother, to have you in his high and holy keeping.

(Signed)

" NAPOLEON."

" Schoenbrun, Oct. 10, 1809."

French unsuccessful in the East Indies.

The event of the humiliating peace which Austria had been compelled to conclude excited no surprise. Every one undoubtedly felt for her fate; but all considered and were fully persuaded that the emperor Francis had submitted only from necessity. He had brought forward to battle his whole strength and having failed in his object he was obliged to act as being at the mercy of his conqueror: France was in a state to demand every thing, and Austria so unhappily circumstanced as to be able to refuse nothing.

The terms were such, therefore, as might have been expected from the relative state of those two powers.

Napoleon now appeared sole uncontrouled lord of the continent; all submitted to his will; and only one consolation appeared to remain, that he himself was under the will of an higher power. It was plainly evinced that the affairs of kingdoms, either with respect to their protection or their punishment, were under the superintendence of an over-ruling Providence; and that nothing which concerned their glory or their safety, happened to them by chance.

Whatever good fortune, however, the French might have accumulated in Europe, their machinations in the East Indies against the British government were unsuccessful. The dispatches from Sir Harsford Jones, the British ambassador to the Persian government recited, that the French and their principles had been completely banished.

The blockade system adopted by Napoleon for the purpose of crippling the British trade, which confirmed his inveterate malignity against the country, having been improved upon by the British cabinet by similar measures. This induced M. Champagny, the minister for foreign affairs in France, to transmit the following official letter

Bonaparte's Principles respecting Neutrals.

to general Armstrong, minister of the United States of America, at Paris

"SIR,

"*Altenburgh, Aug 22*

" His majesty, understanding that you are about to dispatch a ship to the United States, commands me to make known to you the unalterable principles which have and will regulate his conduct in the great question respecting neutrals

" France admits the principle, that the flag protects trade. The trading vessel which carries the license of its government may be considered as a moving colony. To insult such a vessel by search, pursuit, or any act of arbitrary power, is a violation of the fundamental law of colonization, and is an attack upon the government of the same. The seas belong to every nation, without exception, they are the common property, and the domain of all mankind

" Consistently with this doctrine, merchant vessels belonging to individuals may pass by inheritance to persons who never exposed themselves to be made prisoners of war. In all her conquests France has considered sacred private property deposited in the warehouses of the vanquished state, and such have had the complete disposal of matters of trade, and at this moment convoys by land of merchandise, and especially cottons, are passing through the French army and Austria, to proceed to the destination commerce directs. If France had seized the monopoly of the Seas, she would have accumulated in her territory all the products of the earth, and she would have obtained unmeasurable wealth

" Undoubtedly, if England had the dominion of land which she has acquired on the ocean, her acquisitions would have been equally enormous. She would, as in the times of barbarism, have sold the conquered, and distri-

Bonaparte's Principles respecting Neutrals.

buted them as slaves throughout her land. The avarice of trade would have absorbed every thing, and the government of an enlightened nation which has brought the arts of civilization to perfection would have given the earliest instances of the return of the savage ages. That government is fully impressed with the injustice of its naval code, But what has that government to do with justice, which only inquires for profit ?

“ When France shall have established her naval power which, with the extent of her coasts and her population will be soon accomplished, then will the emperor reduce these principles to practice, and apply his mandate to render it universal. The right or rather usurpation, of blockading rivers and coasts by proclamation is palpably contrary to reason and equity. A right cannot possibly spring from the will of an interested party, but must always be founded on the natural relations of things. A place is not properly blockaded unless it be besieged by land and water. It is blockaded to prevent the introduction of assistance, by which the surrender of the place might be protected; and then we have only the right to prevent neutral ships from entering the port, when the place is thus circumstanced, and the possession of it is matter of doubt between the besiegers and besieged. On this is grounded the right to prevent neutrals from entering the place.

“ The sovereignty and independence of its flag, like the sovereignty and independence of its territory, is the property of every neutral. A state may transfer itself to another state; it may destroy the archieves of its independence, and pass from prince to prince, but the right of sovereignty is indivisible and unalienable; no one can re-

Bonaparte's Principles respecting Neutrals.

"England has placed France in a state of blockade. The emperor has, in his decree of Berlin, declared the British Islands in a state of blockade. The first of these regulations forbid neutral vessels to proceed to France; the second prohibited their entering English harbours.

"England has by her Orders of Council of the 11th of November, 1807, levied an impost on neutral ships, and obliged them to enter its ports before they sail to France. By the decree of the 17th of December of the same year, the emperor has decreed, that all such ships be denationalized, which had entered English ports, or submitted to be searched.

"In order to ward off the inconveniences with which this state of things threatened her commerce, America laid an embargo in all her harbours; and although France had done nothing more than used the right of retaliation, its wants and those of its colonies, suffered much from this measure; yet did the emperor magnanimously connive at the proceeding, in order rather to endure the privation of commerce than to acknowledge the authority of the usurpers of the seas.

"The embargo was raised, and a system of non-intercourse was substituted for it. The powers on the Continent in alliance with England having the same object in view, made a common cause with her, that they might derive the same advantages. The harbours of Holland, of the Elbe, of the Weser, of Italy, and of Spain, were to enjoy those benefits from which France was to be excluded; and the one and the other were to be opened or closed to commerce as circumstances rendered expedient, so as France was bereft of it.

"Thus, Sir, in point of principle, France recognizes the freedom of neutral commerce, and the independence of the maritime powers, which she respected up to the mo-

Pius's Protest against Bonaparte.

ment when the maritime tyranny of England, that respects nothing, and the arbitrary proceedings of its government, compelled her to adopt measures of retaliation, to which she resorted with regret. Let England revoke her blockade with France, and France will recall her declaration of blockade against England. Let England revoke her Cabinet Orders of the 11th November, 1807, and the Milan Decree will expire of itself. The American commerce will then recover its complete freedom, and be assured of finding in the harbours of France favour and protection. But it belongs to the United States to attain this happy object by their firmness. Can a nation, resolved to remain free, hesitate between certain momentary interests, and the great cause of maintaining her independence, her honour, her sovereignty, and her dignity?

“M. CHAMPAGNY.”

There is certainly more virulence than truth exercised towards the British government in the above document. It was natural and prudent in that government when threatened by France by every mode that could argue inveterate rancour, to provide for its own defence and security against the malignant efforts of the common enemy; consequently the Orders of Council were justified by the reasons which caused their publication, whatever plea of justification France could assert to the contrary.

But Napoleon now aimed at another conquest. Not satisfied with secular victories and dominion, he thought it right to attack the apostolic see of Rome. Pius VII. who filled the papal throne, alive to all the feelings of his situation, entered his protest against the encroachments suggested by Bonaparte in which he declared, that

“The dark designs, conceived by the enemies of the apostolic see have been accomplished.

Pius's Protest against Bonaparte's Encroachments.

" After the violent and unjust spoliation of the fairest and most considerable portion of our dominions, we behold ourselves, under unworthy pretexts, and with so much the greater injustice, entirely stripped of our temporal sovereignty, to which our spiritual independence is intimately united. In the midst of this cruel persecution we are comforted by the reflection, that we encounter such a heavy misfortune, not for any offence given to the Emperor of France, which has always been the object of our affectionate paternal solicitude, nor for any intrigue of worldly policy, but for an unwillingness to betray our duties.

" To please men and to displease God is not allowed to any one professing the catholic religion, and much less can it be permitted to its head and promulgator.

" As we, besides, owe it to God and the church, to hand down our rights uninjured and untouched, we protest against this new violent spoliation, and declare it null and void.

" We reject with the firmest resolution, any allowance which the Emperor of the French may intend to assign us, and to the individuals composing our college.

" We should all cover ourselves with ignominy in the face of the church, if we suffered our subsistence to depend on him who usurps her authority.

" We commit ourselves entirely to Providence, and to the affection of the faithful, and we shall be contented piously to terminate the bitter career of our sorrowful days.

" We adore, with profound humility, God's inscrutable decrees; we invoke his commiseration upon our good subjects, who will ever be our joy and our crown; and after having in this hardest of trials done what our duties

Pius Excommunicates Bonaparte.

required of us, we exhort them to preserve always untouched the religion and the faith, and to unite themselves to us, for the purpose of conjuring with sighs and tears, both in the closet and before the altar, the Supreme Father of Light, that he may vouchsafe to change the base designs of our persecutors.

“ Given at our Apostolic Palace, del Quirinale, this 10th of June, 1809.

PIUS PAPA VII.

This protest was accompanied by the following excommunication against Napoleon Bonaparte :

“ **Pius VII. Pontif.**

“ By the authority of God Almighty, and of St. Paul and St. Peter, we declare you and all your co-operators in the act of violence, which you are executing, to have incurred the same excommunication, which we in our apostolic letters, contemporaneously affixing in the usual places of this city, declare to have been incurred by all those who, on the violent invasion of this city on the second of February last year, were guilty of the acts of violence, against which we have protested, as well really in so many declarations, that by our order have been issued by our successive Secretaries of State, as also in two consistorial colloquies of the 16th of March, and the 11th of July 1808, in common with all their agents, abettors, advisers, or whosoever else have been accessory to, or himself been engaged in, the execution of those attempts.

“ Given at Rome, Santa Maria Maggiore, June 10th in the tenth year of our Pontificate.

PIUS PAPA VII.

CHAPTER XI.

THE transactions of Bonaparte became now as sudden as they were mischievous. They seemed evanescent, but their effects soon became perceptible. We must keep pace with him in a similar manner; for, having but a small portion of our volume wherein to compress anecdotes of the important exploits of five succeeding years, we must be as explicit in our history, as possible, considering our contracted limits. We, therefore leaving the poor Austrians at present to the fate inflicted upon them, hasten back to the peninsula of Spain.

Want of ability, whence proceeded a deficiency of energy, in the supreme and central Junta, produced mischiefs of no small moment to Spain. They were more desirous of acquiring patronage and places for themselves, than of effecting any benefit in which the people might participate. More afraid of riots and of the ideas of innovation from the mass of people, than the most destructive invasion of a powerful and merciless enemy. They consequently placed such reliance upon British and even Austrian assistance, than upon a properly organized and solid force, which, with due activity, they might have raised among their own naturally brave people. They formed no plans of utility; yet they imagined that by issuing proclamations to rouse energies in their people, which they at the same time suppressed by the suppression of newspapers and other productions of the press, and by

Affairs of Spain.

keeping the people in ignorance this Junta imagined that they were performing vast patriotic projects. Sir John Moore had fatally experienced the iniquity of such conduct, and Lord Wellington might have been an equal sufferer, but that his personal feelings coincided with those for the honour of his country, which impelled him also to exert the utmost prudence, as well as consummate bravery, to ward off the many difficulties into which he would have been involved, had he abided by, or indeed listened to the various remonstrances of the supreme Junta. He stated his reasons for his conduct, and such strong advice for introducing an effectual method by which a steady co-operation might be maintained, that the British Ministry, sensible of the strength of his Lordship's reasons, and desirous of acting in concert with his just opinions, had deputed his brother the Marquis Wellesley, ever since the month of May, as their Ambassador Plenepotentiary to Spain ; the dissensions which pervaded the councils of the Cabinet had, however, prevented his sailing ; nor did he arrive at Cadiz till the 31st of July, two months after the British General had taken the field, and exactly at the moment when that General, for whom the British Ambassador had come to contrive a plan of operation, victorious in battle, but defeated in the war, began his retreat on Portugal.

As wise in council, as his brother was heroic in the field, the Marquis did not suffer any considerable time to elapse ere he gave the most excellent and important advice to the Junta, and whatever present effect was produced by such advice, his Lordship brought back with him to England very important and useful information respecting the general disposition of the Spaniards.

He had been received both at Cadiz and Seville with

every demonstration of kindness and respect, and he explained the nature of the orders with which he was charged by his Britannic Majesty, which, as far as they related to objects of internal regulation, were to be confined within the limits of what might be agreeable to the Spanish government: and was very careful neither to alarm the jealousy nor to offend the pride of Spain.

The British army was in the greatest distress from want of provision; which was owing partly to the poverty and the exhausted state of the country in which they had been stationed; and partly to the indolence and timidity of the magistracy, and the contempt in which the government and its officers were held by the people. The British army were consequently obliged, for want of necessaries, to retreat down the Tagus. The bare possibility of the return of the British army to Portugal, the Junta contemplated with terror and despair; and should such an intention be carried into effect, the Spaniards were disposed even to consider it as a symptom on the part of the British government to abandon their cause and to give up their alliance. "So great" says a modern writer "was the blind confidence of the Junta in the British troops, notwithstanding their consciousness how imperfectly they were supplied, and how feebly supported by the Spaniards, that even after the retreat of the British to Badajoz, the Marquis Wellesley received several notes from the Junta, urging the British army again to advance against the enemy; and Don Martin de Garay, secretary to the Junta, in different conversations with the Marquis, suggested the possibility of driving the French beyond the Pyrenees.

"The Marquis, however, judged differently. He was well assured, that in the several encounters between the

Affairs of Spain.

Spaniards and the French, the circumstance of whole divisions and even corps of Spaniards, to take to their heels on the first appearance of danger, without waiting either to receive or give a shot. They were not, at the same time, unwilling to suffer their judgments to take a wrong bias, by attributing to their British allies all the evils which the Spaniards themselves had occasioned ; they were also very desirous of ascribing the retreat of the British army to any other cause than that of their own bad conduct. But the apprehension that had been excited by the retreat of the British, had been in some degree tranquillized by the firm and prudent manner in which that retreat had been conducted, and by intelligence which had been received of a renewal of hostilities between France and Austria. On this supposed event the Junta had founded the most sanguine expectations ; which it would have been wiser to ground on the prompt correction of their own faults, on a judicious application of the great resources of the Spanish empire, and on an enlightened direction of the genius and dispositions of the Spanish nation. That nation, the Marquis hoped, would see in the calamity that had occasioned so much alarm (the retreat of the British army) the natural consequence of its own weakness, and the urgent necessity of greater decision and vigour of both counsel and action. A relaxation of domestic government and indolent confidence in the activity and aid of strangers, had endangered all the noble and virtuous objects for which Spain had suffered so much, and been so lavish of her blood. Spain must learn to administer her resources, and to ameliorate the organization and discipline of her armies before she could expect to derive any advantage from the support and co-operation of strangers. Until some change should be effected in

Intrigues of the French among the Spaniards.

the distribution or application of the military resources of Spain, and in the state of its army, no British force could attempt with safety to co-operate with Spanish troops on Spanish ground.

"The greatest aid, the Marquis Wellesley said, to be expected in Spain from an English Army should be confined to that kind of occasional concert and co-operation which had lately taken place between the forces commanded by Lord Wellington and those under the orders of General Cuesta. In case of a British army of 30,000 men being employed in a campaign in Spain, our troops should be assured, in the first place, of being provided with the means of movement, and with necessary provisions. In case of necessity, that our troops should retreat, the supreme command of the Spanish armies should be vested in the Commander-in-chief of the English army; and an English garrison should be established at Cadiz, if these conditions should be deemed indispensably necessary for our security in Spain. The disposition of the people was in general favourable to the great cause in which the nation was engaged, and the great mass of population in Spain certainly presented means for organizing a powerful government, and elements for the formation of a powerful army. But in the higher and in the middling classes too many traces were to be found of French intrigue, and of its success. In these two classes one could perceive a disposition to watch events, and to keep terms with the party that should ultimately prevail in the present struggle. Many persons of this description, if they received no favours at the hands of government, were nevertheless never in any way molested by it. Thus no pains were taken to form one public opinion, to cultivate and exalt public spirit, and to direct its energy to

Nomination of a Central Junta.

great national objects. The population of the country had not yet furnished the proportion of recruits demanded by the dangers of the country: nor could any accession of numbers avail without a change in the organization and discipline of the army. Many officers of the army, in the most important stations, made no secret of their hostility to the cause of Spain and her allies, and were not sufficiently watched by government. On a review of the principal events of the last campaign, it appeared impossible to account for the conduct of some Spanish Generals and other officers on any other hypothesis, than that they had concerted their operations with the French, instead of coming to an understanding with the English Generals.

“ It was necessary, in order to vindicate the independence of Spain, not to depend merely on that general spirit of resistance which animated the bulk of the people in the provinces, but to concentrate and direct that spirit in such a manner, as to call forth, with effect, the military resources of the country, and to form an army which might give time to Spain, with the assistance of her allies, to establish the restoration of the monarchy on a legitimate basis. The nomination of a central Junta was, no doubt, the first step towards the consolidation of public authority, but the constitution of the supreme Junta was not founded on the basis of union among the provinces, and still less on a wise and just distribution of the elements and force of government. There was not hitherto any confederations among the provinces. The executive power was weakened by a distribution of it into a number of hands, in an assembly too numerous to possess unity of design or promptitude of action; and yet, at the same time, too limited and narrow in its constitution to be considered as

Want of a correction of Abuses in Spain.

the representative body of the Spanish nation. The central Junta were neither just representatives of the crown, or the Aristocracy, or the people; they neither possessed the properties of an executive council, nor of a deliberative assembly.—It was principally in this body, and among the officers under its employment, that one could plainly perceive an animosity against the British government: very different from this was the general disposition of the people. At some moments of danger and alarm, the Junta seemed to be impressed with a conviction that it was their duty to choose a regency, to assemble the *Cortes*, redress grievances, and remedy abuses. The question of a regency was discussed in the Junta again and again, but the discussions on this subject ended always in an adjournment: the meeting of the *Cortes* was put off to a distant period: the crying abuses in the administration of justice; the collection of the revenue in all the principal branches of the administration of government, was continued.—In short, the supreme Junta thought of nothing so much as how to preserve their own power to the last extremity."

That such were the reasons which the Marquis Wellesley deduced, for the imperative necessity of a change of the administration; and that he considered those reasons as a *ne plus ultra* was evident from the conversation which his Lordship in a conversation held with Don Garay, at the desire of that Statesman. His Lordship recommended the appointment of a regency, the speedy convocation of the *Cortes*, and that the act of the Junta for appointing the regency and convocation of the *Cortes*, should provide for the correction of abuses, and the suppression of arbitrary exactions, in both Spain and the Indies; and also that the same act should declare the general principles on which concessions were to be made

Cowardice of some of the Spanish Troops.

to the colonies for securing to them a share in the representation of the Spanish empire; and, above all, that the first care of the regency should be to reform the whole military system of Spain.

Thus it very plainly appeared that the opinion of the Marquis, from which he did not seem inclined in the least to swerve, was, that in all events, even the very worst to be apprehended, that the disposition and character of the Spanish nation would prolong the difficulties that the French had met with from their first attempt to subdue that country. The grand obstacle to the deliverance of Spain was, beyond all doubt, the state of its own government; but even if the faulty state of government so favourable to the success of the French arms, should be continued, a long interval of time must elapse before a French government could be established in Spain, during which interval events would happen and circumstances occur, which might be improved for the advancement of British interest both in Spain and her colonies.

The sentiments of Lord Wellington were in perfect coincidence with those of the Marquis; not because they were merely those of his brother; but because his own experience had evinced to him that solid and decided measures were absolutely necessary, for facilitating any effectual plan to cope with the activity and force of an enterprising and powerful enemy,

We refer to his own words, which cannot be too often quoted: "In the battle of Talavera, in which almost the whole of the Spanish army was engaged, whole corps threw down their arms in my presence and saved themselves by flight, although they were neither attacked nor menaced with an attack, but merely frightened, I believe, at their own fire. In the public orders of General Cuesta,

Wellington wishes to retire to Portugal

after praising the conduct of his army, he declares his intention of decimating the fugitives, an intention which he afterwards fulfilled. Those base soldiers in their flight from Talavera pillaged every thing that came in their way, even the baggage of the English army, which was at that time fighting in their cause. There cannot be a doubt that in any further conjoint operations, the whole burden must fall on us, and certainly the English army ought not to be considered as sufficiently strong for being the only corps to be opposed to a French army not less than 70,000 strong. On considering, therefore, the object in view, and calculating our means and our dangers, I am of opinion I ought to renounce all ideas of co-operation with the Spanish army, which opinion your Excellency (the Marquis) will communicate to the supreme Junta. At the same time I am aware of the difficulties into which that government must be thrown, if its armies should be seized with any of those panic fears to which they are subject, and take to flight leaving all behind them to certain loss and ruin. To this I can only answer, that I am not pressed by the most urgent necessity, nor in extreme haste to retire immediately out of Spain. I want provisions and some repose for my troops, and at all events, before I retire into Portugal I shall wait your Excellency's opinion on the points which I have submitted to your judgment. If I should retire to Portugal it is my intention to proceed no further than the frontier (though I will not come under any formal engagement to this purpose) where I shall be so near to the enemy that he will not venture to cross the Guadiana, unless he be in very considerable force, and I leave me on his flank and rear. I shall, therefore, in reality be as serviceable to the Spanish government on the frontier of Portugal as I should be in the position

Gerona besieged.

pointed out to me by your excellency: nay, and even more serviceable, as the nearer I am to Portugal, the greater certainty I shall have of recovering the means of acting with effect; and inasmuch as I shall then be unincumbered entirely by the Spanish army, and able to decide whether I ought to co-operate with it at all, in what manner, to what extent, and on what conditions, according to circumstances."

Passing over the many subordinate and detached transactions in the Peninsula, we cannot, however, suffer the patriotism and valour of Gerona to pass unrecorded.

The provinces nearest to the Pyrenees were those only that evinced the most determined and persevering resistance against the French in all the Spanish warfare. Gerona had been twice invested, and the assailants twice driven back, when the French troops again advanced to besiege it in a more formidable and regular manner. Its inhabitants had little on which to trust, except their own valour, in the defence of their devoted city; for there was scarcely any other strong post in the city, but that of Mountjoy, and it was against this post that the French had made repeated attacks and been repulsed with the most heroic bravery. On the 7th of July, the assailants having effected three breaches in the walls of the castle, proceeded to the assault; but they were five times repelled, with considerable slaughter, by the garrison, though much fewer in number, and enfeebled by unremitting duty. Consequently, when the French were about to raise the necessary works for commencing the siege, they were compelled to sustain the greatest difficulties, for they were obliged to raise the works on a rock, and to form their entrenchments under the incessant fire of the garrison.

The besieged unable any longer to defend the Castle of

(Gerona supplied with Men and Provisions.

Mountjoy, retired unmolested on the 12th of August, into the city, leaving to the enemy only an heap of ruins, and a few almost useless cannon. While, however, the French, from the possession of the citadel, were enabled to carry on the siege of the city to greater advantage, the inhabitants, rendered more numerous by the addition of the garrison, began to be reduced to the greatest extremities from want of provision and even of the necessities for the sick and wounded.

“General Blake” says the document whence this narrative is extracted, “who commanded the Spanish army in Catalonia, determined to throw into Gerona not only a supply of provisions and other necessities, but also a reinforcement of troops. With this view, he made such movements and arrangements as seemed to indicate an intention of attacking the enemy in a quarter directly opposite to that by which the convoy was to be sent into the city. A body of 1200 infantry, supported by cavalry, sent against the enemy’s troops stationed at Brunolas, commenced an attack upon them with so much vigour, as induced them to think that the convoy for the supply of Gerona was under the escort and protection of this body of Spanish troops. Notwithstanding the excellent position the French occupied at Brunolas, and that strengthened by intrenchments, the Spaniards gained the summit of the hill, and there planted the Spanish colours. The enemy weakened the other part of their army for the purpose of sending reinforcements to Brunolas, and by threatening to turn the Spanish detachment, obliged it to descend into the plain. In the mean time, a body of cavalry escorted along the right bank of the river Tor, on which Gerona is situate, a convoy of nearly 2000 men; and after defeating the enemy, succeeded in effecting

Blake driven from the Heights of Brunolas.

their entrance into Gerona. The French contracting their forces, invested the city more closely, in order to prevent the return of the mules and horses, with their drivers. But by the manœuvres of Blake the whole were enabled to get back, after being one day and two nights in the town, without so much as loosing one horse. An addition of 500 men was on this occasion made to the garrison of Gerona, which consisted before in only 2,500.

" The garrison of Gerona was now strengthened and refreshed by a plentiful supply of provisions. But three large practicable breaches had been made in the walls of the city, and a great part of the houses were in ruins. Against these three breaches the French generals Verdier, and St. Cyr, on the 19th of September; sent three strong columns; which after repeating their attacks four times were driven back by the garrison, supported by the inhabitants. The ladies of the town, in assisting the wounded, freely exposed themselves to every danger.

" So much enraged was Bonaparte at the failure of this assault, that the generals St. Cyr and Verdier were recalled, and the command of the besieging army given to Marshal Augereau, who altering the plan of operations, resolved, before he could make another assault on Gerona, to bend all his efforts to the defeat and destruction of Blake's army. The Spanish general had posted his troops on the heights of Brunolas. By repeated attacks general Blake was driven from that advantageous position, and compelled to retreat to a considerable distance from Gerona. Marshal Augereau having been informed by some of those spies, or, as the French generals called them agents, which he took care to have in every part of Catalonia, that large magazines were formed at Hortalrich, for the purpose both of supplying Gerona and Blake's

Gerona taken.

Army, sent early in November a strong division against them under the command of General Pino. Hortalrich was strongly fortified and defended by a body of 2000 soldiers and nearly all the inhabitants. Fire was set to the Gates and one quarter of the town taken by storm. But in the streets the Catalonians made the most determined resistance: every position was disputed. From every house the French were assailed with a destructive fire of musquetry: and when the enemy gained possession of all the principal quarters, the inhabitants joining the troops of the line, drew up on a level piece of ground, in the middle of the town, and for some time made an obstinate resistance to the repeated attacks in their centre, as well as on both their flanks. At last they were forced to give way, and the whole town with all the magazines fell into the hands of the French.

“ By the reduction of Hortalrich Gerona was cut off from all hope of supply. They had nothing to hope from General Blake, who after the total defeat and dispersion of his army at Belshite was so much inferior in strength to his adversary, that he did not think it prudent to make any attempt to defeat the magazines. Nor was this all. Marshal Augereau, by the defeat of General Blake had been enabled to place himself between Gerona and the Spanish army. It did not however, surrender till its walls had become wholly useless; nor till the strength of its inhabitants had been wholly exhausted by fatigue and famine. It capitulated on the 10th of December, 1809, and the French on the 11th entered the city, where they found eight standards and 200 pieces of cannon. By the capitulation, the garrison was to evacuate the city with all the honours of war, and be conducted prisoners of war to France. The inhabitants were

Tumultuous Disposition of the Spaniards.

to be respected ; that is, both their persons and property were to be safe ; and the catholic religion was to be continued and protected.

“ Thus at the close of 1809, all the fortresses of Spain had fallen into the hands of the enemy, and all her principal armies been defeated and dispersed ; and by dispersion, for a time annihilated. The depots to which these evils were to be attributed, need not be pointed out to any who have perused even a general and imperfect account of the campaign. But the grand cause of the whole was undoubtedly the senselessness, the ignorance, the contracted views, and the paltry intrigues among the supreme junta who were more attentive to the preservation of their own power than the defence of the country. If at the same time they had declared an intention of reforming abuses and respecting the rights of the people, they had diffused a knowledge of all that was going on on the theatre of the peninsula of Europe, of the relative interests and strength of different powers and parties, and collected the public opinion into one luminous focus, and cherished the public spirit to which public opinion would have given birth, public virtue, genious, talents of every kind would have sprung up, raised their heads, and flourished. But instead of this, their very first and chief care had been to prevent the intercourse of minds, by restraining the press. They were more afraid of tumults among the Spanish people, than of the French. They neither knew how to infuse energy when it was wanting, nor to divert it where it existed. In many parts of Spain there was a spirit of resistance, which in the hands of an able government, might not only have rendered it of avail against the enemy, but in rousing the indifferent, and even forcing the unwilling to co-operate

Bonaparte's selfish munificence.

in the struggle. But selfishness, indolence, procrastination, and imbecility, marked throughout the conduct of the Junta. The war that was kindled on the Danube, and in Italy and the Tyrol, procured them a respite when they were on the point of destruction. This fortunate juncture, however, only fed the hopes, but did not call forth any exertion on the part of the Spanish government.

The reduction of Spain was a circumstance of the utmost consequence to Bonaparte, as it furnished no further hindrance to his favourite object of subjugating all the nations of Europe under his control. The humiliation which Austria had experienced, joined to the mortifying consent of Russia and Sweden, exhibited in their late treaty of alliance, favourable to the insidious views of France, were also indicative demonstrations of the powers with which they seemed willing to invest that autocrat, who was so desirous to reduce the whole of Europe, under his absolute authority, though nominally under the obedience of the several branches of his family. Thus a confederacy was about to be formed by a family originally obscured, but which the most extraordinary circumstances, had raised in an equally surprising manner. Their interest and safety necessarily depending on their chief, they consequently considered themselves only as the ministers of a system suggested and maintained by the vast abilities of their chief, and could only cohere so long as the master-spring and principal movement remained unimpeded.

Bonaparte aware of the strength and necessity of such a principle, spared no efforts to keep it up, by the most munificent rewards to his adherents. Hence that up-

Kellerman's proclamation.

parent liberality which he exhibited about this period, so contrary to his selfish nature, hence arose the various kingdoms, principalities, and dukedoms, which he thought it convenient to confer; and hence his creatures, attached by immense rewards, and weak enemies rendered dependent, by what might appear an imprudent lenity.

In the Month of October the following proclamation was issued by Kellerman, as unjust in its motive, as it exhibited another instance of military violence.

" Considering the necessity of multiplying the resources of the army of his Imperial Majesty, and of depriving the rebels and traitors of the means of procuring animals to accomplish their atrocious designs, it is hereby declared, that all the horses and mares belonging to the provinces in Upper Spain, viz. in the districts of Salamanca, Zamoras, Toro, Leon, Placentia, Burgos, Guipuscoa, and Alva, of the height of four feet four inches, or five feet and half an inch of the measure of Spain, and from thence upward, are in requisition for the armies of France, and are to be conducted to the capital of the respective Governments, where they are to be received and maintained by the Governors, until the returns made to me shall enable me to give directions for the disposal of them.

" All the horses of less than 4 feet four inches, or 5 feet half inch high, Spanish measure, also mares pregnant for more than three months, and horses and mares that are not 30 months old, and less than the height mentioned; are to have the left eye put out, and are to be rendered by other proper means unfit for military service by the proprietors themselves. Those who presume to disobey this command, are to be mulcted in four times the value of the animals.

Opening of the Legislative body.

“ The execution of this order is to be committed to the Governors, Commandants of Arms, and to the Commandants of detachments, and Flying Columns..

(Signed) “ KELLERMAN,

Gen. of division, and Governor-General,

28th Oct, 1809.

of Upper Spain.”

Nothing very particular occurred from this period to agitate the surrounding nations till the Month of December, on the third of which at six in the morning a discharge of artillery, at Paris, announced the opening of the legislative body, which was about to take place on that day.

At half past ten Bonaparte left the Thuilleries to proceed to Notre Dame. He was in the Coronation coach with his Majesty the King of Westphalia. The King of Naples, the Princes, Grand Dignitaries, Ministers, Grand Officers of the Empire and of the Crown, preceded him.

He was received by the Clergy at the entrance of the church, and conducted to the choir, under a canopy.

The tribunals of the choir were occupied by his consort Josphine, the *imperial* family, the Kings of Wurtemberg and Saxony, and the Queen of Westphalia.

One of the Almoners said the mass.—His Eminence Cardinal Fesch, Grand Almoner, celebrated *Te Deum*.

Bonaparte re-conducted under the canopy, as on his entrance to the church, proceeded to the palace of the legislative body.

Being seated, the Members of the legislative body newly elect took the oaths; after which the Emperor made the following speech:—

Bonaparte's speech.

“ GENTLEMEN DEPUTIES OF DEPARTMENTS TO
THE LEGISLATIVE BODY,—

“ Since your last session I have reduced Arragon and Castile to submission, and driven from Madrid the fallacious government formed by England. I was marching upon Cadiz and Lisbon, when I was under the necessity of treading back my steps, and of planting my eagles on the ramparts of Vienna. Three months have seen the rise and termination of this fourth Punic War. Accustomed to the devotedness and courage of my armies, I must, nevertheless, under these circumstances, acknowledge the particular proofs of affection which my soldiers of Germany have given me.

“ The genius of France conducted the English army—it has terminated its projects in the pestilential marshes of Walcheren. In that important period I remained 400 leagues distant, certain of the new glory which my people would acquire, and of the grand character they would display. My hopes have not been deceived—I owe particular thanks to the citizens of the departments of the Pas de Calais and the North. Frenchmen! Every one that shall oppose you shall be conquered and reduced to submission. Your grandeur shall be increased by the hatred of your enemies. You have before you long years of glory and prosperity. You have the force and energy of the hercules of the ancients.

“ I have united Tuscany to the empire. The Tuscans were worthy of it by the mildness of their character, by the attachment their ancestors have always shewn us, and by the services they have rendered to European civilization.

Continuation of Bonaparte's Speech.

" History pointed out to me the conduct I ought to pursue towards Rome : the popes, become sovereigns of part of Italy, have constantly shewn themselves enemies of every preponderating power in the peninsula—they have employed their spiritual power to injure it—It was then demonstrated to me that the spiritual influence exercised in my states by a foreign sovereign, was contrary to the independence of France, to the dignity and safety of my throne. However, as I acknowledge the necessity of the spiritual influence of the descendants of the first of the pastors, I could not conciliate these grand interests, but by annulling the donative of the French Emperors, my predecessors, and by uniting the Roman states to France.

" By the treaty of Vienna, all the Kings and sovereigns my allies, who have given me so many proofs of the constancy of their friendship, have acquired and shall acquire a fresh increase of territory.

" The Illyrian provinces stretch the frontiers of my great empire to the Save. Contiguous to the empire of Constantinople, I shall find myself in a situation to watch over the first interests of my commerce in the Mediterranean, the Adriatic and the Levant. I will protect the Porte, if the Porte withdraw herself from the fatal influence of England. I know how to punish her, if I suffer herself to be cunning and perfidious counsels.

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Continuation of Bonaparte's Speech.

principal arteries of my empire.—Changes will become necessary ; the safety of my frontiers, and the well understood interests of the two countries, imperiously require them.

“ Sweden has lost, by her alliance with England, after a disastrous war, the finest and most important of her provinces. Happy would it have been for that nation, if the wise Prince that governs her now had ascended the throne some years sooner ! This example proves anew to kings that the alliance of England is the surest presage of ruin.

“ My ally and friend the Emperor of Russia, has united to his vast empire, Finland Moldavia, Wallachia, and a district of Galicia.—I am not jealous of any thing that can produce good to that Empire. My sentiments for its illustrious Sovereign are in unison with my policy.

“ When I shall shew myself beyond the Pyrenees, the frightened leopard will fly to the ocean, to avoid shame, defeat, and death. The triumph of my arms will be the triumph of the genius of good over that of evil, of moderation, order, and morality over civil war, anarchy, and the bad passions. My friendship and protection will, I hope, restore tranquillity and happiness to the people of Spain.

“ Gentlemen deputies of departments to the legislative Body—I have directed my minister of the interior to lay before you the history of the legislation, of the administration and of the finances of the year just expired ; you will see that all the ideas I had conceived for the amelioration of my people, have been followed with the greatest activity—that in Paris, as in the most distant parts of my empire, the war has not produced any delay in the public works. The Members of my council in state will submit

State of France.

to you different projects of law, and especially the law upon the finances ; you will see in it their prosperous condition I demand of my people no new sacrifice, though circumstances have obliged me to double my military means."

At the close of this year the French empire, as it had been denominated began to exhibit a scene altogether new to modern times, and to modern principles. " Among all the human effects of Christianity, says a modern writer, " the best certainly were, that it rendered the conclusions of philosophy practical and intelligible duties. —It brought the virtues from the schools and groves of the philosophers, and gave them currency in the system of life. It was by these means, teaching and circulating this knowledge, assisted undoubtedly by the divine blessing, that within two centuries after the first introduction of our religion, it gave a new form to human life and conduct.—It taught men their duties, and what is more, brought them into the daily habit, practice, and acknowledgment of them. In this manner was the whole face of the moral world and of human society ameliorated, and, as it were, regenerated.—In this manner insensibly passed away those atrocities and prodigies of wickedness, which in the age of the first Cæsars defaced and degraded our nature. And this amelioration, being founded on unshaken principles, and on the firmest possible basis, was permanent.—In the scale of morals there is no comparison between the antient and moral world."

But France, a land fertile in wonders, was now about to renew, in the person of Bonaparte, a spectacle, worthy only of antient times and antient manners. The governor of a nation still proposing to be Christians, divesting himself of his wife with as little reluctance as he

Bonaparte's Marriage with Josephine dissolved.

would put off his robes, and in contempt of the first ordinances of the religion which he now seemed to profess, without paying even the common homage of seeking a seeming concurrence from his church.—A sacrament of his religion was about to be annulled by a mere ordinance of the French state! In the face of a whole people; and to the astonishment of the world, the chief of a nation took upon himself to promote a release from an obligation which he had solemnly contracted upon the altar! A divorce from his wife, against whom no neglect of duty, no want of affection, nor any other cause could reasonably be adduced. But such an extraordinary portion of the general Drama of inconsistencies was France now to exhibit.

The design which Bonaparte was supposed to have long entertained, of *dissolving his marriage* with Josephine, he at length avowed. The *project* of a decree on the subject was submitted to the senate on the 16th of December. It was immediately adopted, and before the sitting terminated, the will of the Emperor was enacted into a law.—The happiness of France, involved in the tranquil transmission of the sovereignty to a scion from the stock of Bonaparte, is assigned as the motive for this extraordinary proceeding. The speech of Bonaparte on this occasion to the Vice-Chancellor, was in substance nearly the same with which in the play of *Henry VIII.* the King addresses the cardinals.

“ By desire of his Majesty the Emperor, all the members of the senate assembled at eleven o'clock in the morning, in full dress, in the hall of their usual sittings. The sitting of the Senate at which the Kings of Westphalia and Naples, Grand Admiral the Prince Vice-Roy of Italy, the Arch-Chancellor of state, the Prince Vice-

Sitting of the Senate

Grand Constable, and the Prince Vice Grand Elector, assisted, and at which the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire presided, formed, on account of the importance of the subjects which were discussed, an epoch in the annals of France. On that day was presented to the senators, a *project* of a *Senatus Consultum*, respecting a dissolution of the marriage between the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Josephine. This dissolution of marriage, required by the two high parties, and approved of by a family council, at which all the Princes and Princesses of the imperial family, at present in Paris, assisted, received the same day the assent of the senate, after having been the object of examination of a special commission, named for this purpose. After having read the contents of the imperial decree, which enacted the convocation of the senate, and of that which directed that it should be presided by the Prince Arch-Chancellor, and that the Princes of the imperial family, hereafter named, should be present in the senate, the *official journal* gave an account of this memorable sitting in the following terms — [Here followed a speech from the Arch-Chancellor of state, the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, president, and Duke of Parma]

“The Count Regnault de St Jean d’Angely laid before the senate the *project* of the *Senatus Consultum*, and explained the motives of it, which were, that they mutually sacrifice their conjugal happiness to the welfare and interests of their country. [Here follows a speech from the Prince Vice-Roy of Italy, after which the Count Garnier, annual president, proposed to refer the *project* of the *Senatus Consultum* to the examination of a special commission of nine members, which was named, and made its report during the sitting.]

Act of the Senate.

" At half past four the senate resumed its sitting; and Count Lacepede, one of the members of the special commission, made the report, which terminated in proposing the adoption of the *project* of the *Senatus Consultum*, and also the adoption of two addresses, one to the Emperor and the other to the Empress.

EXTRACT FROM THE REGISTER OF THE CONSERVATIVE
SENATE, OF SATURDAY THE 16TH DECEMBER, 1809.

" The conservative senate, assembled to the number of members prescribed by article 90th of the act of the constitution, and dated the 13th December 1799, having seen the act drawn up, the 15th of the present month, by the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, of which the following is the substance:—

" In the year 1809, and the 15th day of December, at nine o'clock in the evening, we, Jean Jaques Regis Cambaceres, Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, Duke of Parma, exercising the functions prescribed to us by title the 2d of the 14th article of the statute of the imperial family, and in consequence of orders addressed to us by his Majesty the Emperor and King, in his private letter dated that day, of the following tenor:—

" My Cousin, our desire is that you repair this day, at nine o'clock in the evening, to our grand cabinet of the palace of the Thuilleries, attended by the civil secretary of state of our imperial family, to receive from us, and from the Empress our dear consort, a communication of great importance; for this purpose we have ordered that this present private letter should be sent you.—

We pray God to have you, my Cousin, in his holy blessed keeping."

" Paris, December 15, 1809."

Bonaparte's Letter to the Duke of Parma.

On the back was written, 'To our Cousin, the Prince Arch-Chancellor, Duke of Parma.'

"We accordingly proceeded to the hall of the throne of the Palace of the Tuilleries, attended by Michel-Louis-Etienne Regnault (de St. Jean d'Angely), count of the Empire, minister of state, and secretary of state to the imperial family. A quarter of an hour afterwards we were introduced to the grand cabinet of the Emperor, where we found his majesty the Emperor and King, with her majesty the Empress, attended by their majesties the Kings of Holland, Westphalia, and Naples, his imperial highness the Prince Vice-Roy; the Queens of Holland, Westphalia, Naples, and Spain; madame, and her imperial highness the Princess Pauline. His majesty the Emperor and King condescended to address us in these terms:—

'My Cousin, Prince Arch-Chancellor, I despatched to you a private letter, dated this day, to direct you to repair to my cabinet, for the purpose of communicating to you the resolution which I and the Empress, my dearest consort, have taken. It gives me pleasure that the Kings, Queens, and Princesses, my brothers and sisters, my brothers and sisters-in-law, my daughter-in-law, and my son in-law, become my adopted son, as well as my mother, should witness what I am going to communicate to you.

'The politics of my monarchy, the interest and the wants of my people, which have constantly guided all my actions, require that after me, I should leave to children, inheritors of my love for my people, that throne on which providence has placed me. Notwithstanding, for several years past, I have lost the hope of having children by my marriage with my well-beloved consort the Empress Josephine. This it is which causes me to sacrifice the

Continuation of Bonaparte's Letter.

sweetest affections of my heart, to attend to nothing but the good of the state, and to wish the dissolution of my marriage. Arrived at the age of forty years, I may indulge the hope of living long enough to educate, in my views and sentiments, the children which it may please Providence to give me: God knows how much such a resolution has cost my heart; but there is no sacrifice beyond my courage, that I will not make, when it is proved to me to be necessary to the welfare of France. I should add, that far from ever having had reason to complain, on the contrary, I have had only to be satisfied with the attachment and the affection of my well-beloved consort. She has adorned 15 years of my life, the remembrance of which will ever remain engraven on my heart. She was crowned by my hand. I wish she should preserve the rank and title of Empress, but, above all, that she should never doubt my sentiments, and that she should ever regard me as her best and dearest friend.'

" His majesty the Emperor and King having ended, her majesty the Empress and Queen spoke as follows :

' By the permission of our dear and august consort, I ought to declare, that not preserving any hope of having children, which may fulfil the wants of his policy and the interests of France, I am pleased to give him the greatest proof of attachment and devotion which has ever been given on earth. I possess all from his bounty; it was his hand which crowned me; and from the height of his throne I have received nothing but proofs of affection and love from the French people.'

' I think I prove myself grateful in consenting to the dissolution of a marriage, which heretofore was an obstacle to the welfare of France, which deprived it of the happiness of being one day governed by the descendants of

The Empress divorced

a great man, evidently raised up by providence to efface the evils of a terrible revolution, and to re-establish the altar, the throne, and social order. But the dissolution of my marriage will in no degree change the sentiments of my heart. The Emperor will ever have in me his best friend. I know how much this act, demanded by policy and by interests so great, has chilled his heart, but both of us exult in the sacrifice which we make for the good of the country.'

" After which their imperial majesties having demanded an act of their respective declarations as well as of the mutual consent contained in them, and which their majesties gave to the dissolution of their marriage, as also of the power which their majesties conferred on us to follow up as need shall require the effect of their will, we, Prince Arch Chancellor of the Empire, in obedience to the orders and requisitions of their majesties, have given the aforesaid act, and have in consequence executed the present *procès verbal*, to serve and avail according to law, to which *procès verbal* their majesties have affixed their signatures, and which, after having been signed by the Kings, Queens, Princes, and Princesses present, has been signed by us, and countersigned by the secretary of the imperial family.

" Done at the Palace of the Tuilleries, the day hour, and the year aforesaid.

(Signed)

" NAPOLEON,

" JOSEPHINE,

" MADAME,

" LOUIS,

" JEROME NAPOLEON,

" EUGENE NAPOLEON,

" JULIE,

" HORTENSE,

" CATHERINE,

" PAULINE .

Articles of Divorce.

“ JOACHIM NAPOLEON, “ CAROLINE,
“ CAMBACERES, Prince Arch Chancellor,
“ COUNT HEYNAULT, (de St. Jean d'Angely.)”

“ Having seen the *project* of the *Senatus Consultum*, drawn up in the form prescribed by the 57th article of the act of the constitution, of the 4th August, 1802; after having heard the motives of the said *project*, the orators of the council of state, and the report of the special commission, appointed in the sitting of this day; the adoption having been discussed by the number of members prescribed by the 56th article of the act of the constitution of the 4th August, 1802, decree,

“ Art. I. The marriage contracted between the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Josephine is dissolved.

“ II. The Empress Josephine shall preserve the title and rank of Empress Queen crowned.

“ III. Her dowry is fixed at an annual income of two millions of francs, on the revenue of the state.

“ IV. All the assignments which may be made by the Emperor in favour of the Empress Josephine on the funds of the civil list, shall be obligatory on his successors.

“ V. The present *Senatus Consultum* shall be transmitted by a message to his imperial and royal majesty.”

The two addresses proposed by the commission were afterwards put to the vote, and adopted.

Little need be added to so disgusting an *expose*, except the horrid state of Europe, under French domination, which was officially developed at this period:

“ It would have been an easy task for the Emperor, (says count Montalvet) to unite all Galicia with the Duchy of Warsay; but he would not do any thing

Count Montalivet's Remarks.

which should excite the least uneasiness in the mind of his ally, the Emperor of Russia. His majesty never entertained the idea of restoring the kingdom of Poland.—What he has done for new Galicia was prescribed to him by sound policy and honour. He could not surrender to the vengeance of an implacable Prince, people who had displayed such fervent zeal for the cause of France." He then proceeds:—" The Hanse Towns shall preserve their independence ; they shall serve as a medium of the reprisal of war with regard to England. Peace shall immediately be concluded with Sweden. Nothing shall be changed in the political relations of the confederation of the Rhine, and the Helvetic confederacy.—Holland is, in fact, only a part of France. A definition of that country may be given by saying that it is a continuation of the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt ; that is to say, of the great arteries of the French Empire. The absolute inactivity of her custom-house, the disposition of her agents, and the sentiments of its inhabitants, which tend incessantly to a fraudulent trade with England, have rendered it necessary to exclude them from all commercial intercourse with the Rhine ; and thus placed in a state of morbid compression between France and England, Holland is deprived both of the advantages which clash with our general system, and which she must relinquish ; and of those which she might enjoy. It is time that all this should be set right. The Illyrian provinces cover Italy, give her a direct communication with Dalmatia, procure us a point of immediate contact with the Empire of Constantinople, which it must be the wish and intention of France for so many reasons to support and protect. Spain and Portugal are the seat of a mad revolution ; the numerous agents of England keep up the conflagration which they have raised. The force,

Bonaparte the favourite of France.

the power, and the calm moderation of the Emperor will restore to them peaceful days. Should Spain free her colonies, it will be through her own fault. The Emperor will never oppose the independence of the continental nations of America; that independence is in the natural order of events; it is just; it agrees with the true interest of all European powers. Should the people of Mexico and Peru wish to raise themselves to the elevation of a noble independence, France shall never oppose them, provided they enter into no connection with England. France is not under the necessity of vexing her neighbours, or imposing on them tyrannical laws, to secure her prosperity and trade. We have lost the colony of Martinico, and that of Cayenne; they were both badly defended. The circumstances which led to their loss form the object of a strict inquiry; although it is not of any weight in the general balance of affairs, since they will be restored to us in a more flourishing condition at the general peace."

Nothing of greater importance distinguished the close of this year. It proved, however, that by a mixture of frivolity and greatness, he had by this time rendered himself the favourite of France: in fact that nation considered him the hero of his age. But one grand essential was necessary;—he wanted goodness. He had not even that portion of common honesty, which dramatists require to give effect to the qualifications of a poetic hero!

CHAPTER XII.

THE kingdom of Holland was now pitched upon as necessary to be added to the French empire ; for, the *Exposé* expressly says, “ Holland is, in fact, only a part of France. A definition of that country may be given, by saying, that it is a continuation of the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt—that is to say, of the great arteries of the French empire.”

The senate met at Paris on the 27th of February, 1810, when the prince Arch-Chancellor, who presided on the occasion, read the following message from the emperor: Senators, we have despatched to Vienna, as our ambassador extraordinary, our cousin, the prince of Neuschatel, to solicit the hand of the arch-duchess Maria-Louisa, daughter of the Emperor of Austria. We have given orders to our minister for foreign relations to lay before you the articles of the treaty of marriage between us and the Archduchess Maria-Louisa, which has been concluded, signed, and ratified. We have been desirous of eminently contributing to the happiness of the present generation. The enemies of the continent have founded their prosperity upon its dissensions and divisions. They can no longer nourish war, by imputing to us objects incompatible with the ties and duties of affinity, now we have just contracted with the imperial house reigning in Austria. The brilliant qualities which distinguish the Archduchess Maria Louisa, have acquired her the love of the people of Austria.

Marriage of Bonaparte.

They have fixed our regards. Our people will love this princess from their love for us, until, being witnesses of all the virtues which have given her so high a place in our thoughts, they shall love her for herself.—Given at our palace of the Tuilleries, the 27th of February, 1810.

(Signed)

“ NAPOLEON.”

After the message was read, the duke de Cadore communicated to the senate the articles of the marriage treaty, which are in the usual form. The articles of the treaty are, with regard to portion, dowry, and jewels, in all respects the same as those in the marriage treaties, in preceding reigns, between the kings and dauphins of France, and the princesses of Austria. The value of the jewels, and the nuptial ornaments which Napoleon had destined for his bride, was estimated at eighteen millions of francs.

The marriage was celebrated at Vienna, on the 11th of March, at six o'clock in the evening, and the empress set off on the 13th on her way to Paris, where the ceremony took place on the 1st of April. The train of the empress Louisa was supported by four queens, and after the marriage the royal pair set off for St. Cloud. Three days after they received the congratulations of the senate. Bonaparte's answer was short and general; and the empress, contrary to the practice of her predecessors, made no reply.

By this marriage, the Emperor Napoleon became related to almost all the royal families of Europe. Besides being son-in-law to the Emperor of Austria, and nephew to the Archduke Charles, he is great nephew to the queen of Naples (before Joachim Murat was king,) first cousin to Ferdinand the seventh of Spain, and to the prince

Success of the French in Spain.

regent of Portugal: he was also nephew to the daughter of *Louis the Sixteenth*, the duchess of *Angouleme*.

By a decree of the senate, which adopted a *senatus consultum* at Paris, Rome was united to the French Empire.

The French made likewise great progress in Spain. It appears, that the line of defence formed by the Spaniards on the *Sierra Morena*, was suddenly forced by the French, who by their manoeuvres completely deceived the Spaniards, and even in some instances debouched in the rear of their mines and entrenchments, by which their progress was expected to have been opposed. In these operations the French are stated to have taken six thousand prisoners, including two generals, twenty-five pieces of cannon, eight standards, and several magazines, and to have effected the total dispersion of the remains of the Spanish army which had rallied after the defeat of *Ocana*. The letter containing this intelligence was dated the 22nd of January, from *Baylen*. On the 29th, the French were within two leagues of *Seville*, whence the people were flying in all directions. *Cadiz* was crowded with refugees. On the 31st, eleven thousand men of the Duke of *Albuquerque*'s army entered the isle of *Leon*. A strong detachment of the French cavalry attempted to surprize *A casa la Real*, to which place the Spanish park of artillery had been removed; but it failed. In consequence of the advanced position of the enemy, the Spanish fleet at *Cadiz* was moved to the outer harbour, and anchored on the outside of the English squadron.

The people of *Cadiz* became greatly enraged at the members of the late Junta, some of whom had been publicly denounced as traitors. Several of them who ha-

General Venegas suspected of Treason.

arrived were personally assailed by the populace, and had nearly fallen victims to the infuriated resentment of the people. General Venegas was also suspected of treason; and though he had publicly appealed for protection, it was with difficulty he escaped with his life.

Marshal Augereau sent to the minister of war an account of a battle fought in the plains of Vech, between the division of general Sourham and the Spanish army of Catalonia, commanded by general O'Donnell; in which the latter was defeated with the loss of six thousand three hundred men, and retreated to Tarragona. The Spaniards were the assailants, and it is admitted that the attack was made with great fury. General Sourham was wounded.

The French General Bonnet, in his report from Oviedo, declares, that the patriots were in such superior force, that they meditated an attack upon him; which he anticipated, by attacking them on the 14th: that the battle was renewed on the 15th, and that it ended in the defeat of the Spaniards, who were driven to the frontiers of Gallicia.

The whole of the Spanish men of war at Cartagena, consisting of the San Carlos and San Fernando, of one hundred and thirty guns; the Guerrero and San Pueblo, seventy-four, and the Soledad frigate, were, through the exertions of colonel Roche and Sir S. Hood, removed to Gibraltar and Mahon.

The French opened a new work in the neighbourhood of Matagorda, without producing the effect apprehended upon Cadiz. The distance across the channel of the Puntals is only one thousand three hundred and thirty yards; but the nearest French battery to the front bastion

Joseph Bonaparte's narrow Escape.

of Cadiz, was three thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight yards removed from it, and the two next batteries were four thousand one hundred and eighteen, and five thousand two hundred and three yards distant.

Joseph Bonaparte had a very narrow escape in his journey from Grenada to Madrid. A number of armed peasants, in order to intercept him, concealed themselves in one of the sinuosities of the Sierra Morena; on a sudden they made their appearance, and discharged several rounds of musketry. Some of the balls pierced the carriage, and killed two of his attendants; but he escaped without injury.

Marshal Augereau was recalled from the command of the army in Catalonia, and was succeeded by Macdonald; and Barcelona was supplied with provisions, during the absence of the British squadron in a gale of wind.

Two prison-ships were driven on shore on that side of the bay of Cadiz occupied by the French. The prisoners on board one of them, amounting to several hundreds, escaped on shore. The other prison-ship being in imminent danger, as a heavy sea was breaking over her, assistance was sent to her from the British squadron. Instead, however, of gratefully acknowledging and accepting these offices of humanity, the Frenchmen, who had by this time gained complete possession of the vessel, fired upon the British boats, killed nineteen of the crews, and wounded several. A heavy fire was, in consequence, opened on the prison-ship, by which nearly two hundred of the refractory were killed and wounded. A Spanish ship of the line, with a considerable quantity of dollars on board, also ran ashore about the same time; but the disaster was ascribed rather to treachery than to ac-

Valais united to the French Empire.

eident or negligence. The vessel was, however, fortunately got off by the exertions of the British seamen.

The British force in Cadiz at the beginning of June, amounted to seven thousand men, the Portuguese to sixteen hundred, and the Spaniards to fifteen thousand, making in the whole twenty-three thousand five hundred men.

By a decree dated at Fontainbleau, October 19, 1810, all prohibited articles of English manufacture at that time in France, or that might after that period be brought into it, were ordered to be burned. A similar order was applied to Holland, the duchy of Berg, the Hanse Towns, and all the country between the Maine and the sea. By this decree, all British merchandize introduced into the kingdoms of Italy or Naples, the Illyrian provinces, the parts of Spain occupied by the French, and generally in all the places within the reach of the French troops, was to be burned also. It likewise ordered that those who introduced them should be branded on the forehead, and imprisoned from three to ten years.

By a decree of the 12th of November, Napoleon united to the French Empire the territory of the Valais, under the name of the department of Simplon. The pretexts to this annexation were, that the Simplon, connecting France and Italy, had cost both treasuries eighteen millions of livres; that the Valais had not adhered to its engagements, and that it was necessary to put an end to the struggles for power among the population.

A convention was concluded between France and Austria; by the articles of which, the sequestrations upon

Hanover annexed to Westphalia.

the property of the partizans of either in the Austrian territories, or in those of the Rhenish Confederation, were done away, in order, as the preamble states, to efface all traces of the late war in Germany. In conformity with this arrangement, all the Austrian nobles, having possessions in the states of the Rhenish Confederation, were requested to declare, within the first days of the year 1811, whether they would choose to remain in the service of the court of Vienna, or return to their possessions within the limits of the confederation. In the first case they were required to sell such estates within the space of five years, or transfer them to some branch of their family who would be resident.

The Austrian monarchy, by the loss of the quicksilver mines of Istria, in consequence of the late war, and the lead mines of Bleyberg, the customs at Trieste, the salt works at Halleiu, Saltzburgh, and Wicheza in Gallicia, with the customs of the ceded countries, sustained an annual deficiency in her revenues of forty millions of francs. It may likewise be added, that the sum total of the war contributions paid by Austria to France, amounted to eighty-five millions of francs, of which thirty millions were paid in cash, and the rest in bills of exchange, at five millions per month; the last payment of which was to take place in October, 1810.

The annexation of the Hanoverian territory to the kingdom of Westphalia, was definitively settled. A proclamation issued by king Jerome to his new subjects, was dated from Cassel, the 1st of March; and after stating that Napoleon had, by a convention concluded at Paris on the 14th of January, resigned all his rights and claims on that country to him, congratulates the Hanoverians on being relieved from the painful state of

Augmentation of the Army of Spain.

uncertainty in which they had hitherto lingered, advert to their present misery and wretchedness, engages to protect them against all attacks of continental powers, and to secure them from the insults incident to a maritime war; and concludes with expressing a hope, that they will render themselves worthy of the brilliant prospect which this union opens to their view. The deputies of Hanover took the oath of allegiance to their new sovereign, on the part of the people, at Cassel, on the 14th of March. Hanover, by this determination, is to be divided into three departments, viz. those of the Aller, of the Ilmenau, and of the Mouths of the Elbe and Weser.

We may here remark, that the total loss of the Empire of Austria, from 1804 to the peace of Vienna in 1809, amounted to three thousand one hundred and eighty-eight square leagues, and five millions nine hundred and seventy-eight thousand five hundred and thirty-six inhabitants.

Disturbances broke out in the Tyrol in consequence of an attempt to enforce the conscription system among those brave people. A number of the inhabitants, to avoid this hateful measure, fled to the mountains, and relying upon their fastnesses, braved the military. Occasionally, they descended into the valleys, and interrupted by their incursions, the communication between the different districts. The presence of a large military force therefore became necessary, to prevent the insurrection extending to the Pusterthal, the inhabitants of which were adverse to their country being incorporated with the Illyrian provinces.

In Spain the supreme junta issued an edict, ordaining that the armies should be augmented to one hundred thou-

Capture of St. Maura.

saad men; and that one hundred thousand lances, and one hundred thousand poniards should be manufactured and distributed among the provinces where they might be of use. The war in the Peninsula therefore assumed an unlooked for and flattering degree of promise.

The Spanish general Ballasteros, it appears by a despatch from the marquis Romana, had his head quarters on the 28th of March, in the neighbourhood of Ronquillo, from whence he reports that he had defeated the enemy at Santa Olalla, and dislodged them from all the strong posts in the neighbourhood. These positions are to the westward of the Sierra Morena, direct north of Seville, and nearly in the rear of the French troops in Andalusia.

The duke of Treviso for four successive days attacked Badajoz, but was repulsed with loss, and fell back towards Merida.

A plan was entered into at St. Andero, to expel the French from that town and neighbourhood, by a general rising of the inhabitants. The plot was partially executed on the 3rd of April, and about one hundred of the enemy killed in their quarters. The garrison, however, recovering from the alarm, attacked, and ultimately overpowered the inhabitants, vast numbers of whom were put to the sword, and about two hundred sent off under an escort to France.

By the despatches which were received from sir John Stuart, dated Messina, April 24, we are informed that the Greek island of St. Maura was captured by the British troops under brigadier-general Oswald, aided by a naval force under captain Eyre, of the Magnificent, after several smart and well contested actions with the French garrison, which amounted to sixteen hundred men,

The French take Senabria.

and the remains of which finally surrendered prisoners of war.

The French were successful in taking Ciudad Rodrigo, which, after a most obstinate defence, during a terrific and destructive fire of sixteen days, surrendered at discretion, as appears from the account given by his highness the Marshal Prince of Essling, in a report dated the 12th of July. The report says, "it is impossible to form an idea of the state to which Ciudad Rodrigo is reduced. Every thing is battered down and ruined, not so much as a single house standing entire." Upwards of two thousand men were killed, including the troops and inhabitants. The garrison, consisting of seven thousand men, laid down their arms in the arsenal, on the entrance of the French troops. At this place the French took six stand of colours, one hundred and twenty-five excellent pieces of artillery, the greater part of them brass, two hundred thousand pounds of powder, twelve hundred thousand cartridges, and a considerable quantity of shot and artillery stores.

On the 29th of July, the French general count Serras attacked the fort of Senabria, which was defended by three thousand Spaniards. This post is important, says the French account, because it commands the entrance into Portugal, and shuts up the communications with Galicia. After a slight resistance the Spanish general abandoned the town, and the French found therein twenty pieces of artillery, and provisions for three thousand men for six months.

On the 15th of August, the prince of Essling caused the trenches to be opened before Almeida, when a false attack, directed against the north of the town, had drawn the attention of the besieged to that quarter. After a

Capture of Amboyna.

most obstinate defence, which continued till the 26th, the governor sent some officers to request a cessation of hostilities. Marshal Massena, prince of Essling, made known to them the terms of capitulation which he intended to offer, and several hours were employed in negotiation; but as this did not answer the expectations of the French general, he ordered the fire to re-commence at eight in the evening, and three hours after the governor signed a capitulation, by which the garrison surrendered prisoners of war, and the Portuguese militia deposited their arms, and were permitted to return home. The French found on the batteries ninety-eight pieces of cannon, and seventeen requiring repair, three thousand rations of biscuit, one hundred thousand rations of salt meat, and a great quantity of other provisions.

On the 27th of September a battle was fought between the armies under marshal Massena (prince of Essling) and lord viscount Wellington, in the position of Busaco in Portugal. This was a well contested action, which fortunately turned much to the advantage of the English forces under the command of his lordship: the French, it is said, lost two thousand dead on the field of battle, and that the number of their wounded was immense. The English and Portuguese, according to the despatch, had about two hundred and ten killed, and about nine hundred and fifty wounded.

In the east the British arms were attended with success in the capture of Amboyna, one of the Molucca islands, by a squadron of ships under captains Tucker, Montague, and Spencer, who, with one hundred and seventy-six troops and the seamen and marines of the Dover, Cornwall, and Samarang, the whole force amounting only to four hundred and one men, including officers, proceeded

Capture of Amboyna.

up the harbour on the 9th of February, and made good their landing on the 15th, under the command of captain Court, of the India Company's coast artillery. The ships commenced the attack by cannonading the fort and surrounding batteries, which was continued for two hours and a half, though exposed to a heavy fire of red hot shot from the heights on the left of the town. In the mean time, the force on shore had stormed the battery of Wannatoo, notwithstanding the determined opposition of the enemy, who had two officers killed, and one dangerously wounded, and the guns were turned upon the enemy in their retreat. Captain Court then proceeded in the arduous undertaking along the heights to turn the enemy's position at Batter Gantong, which commanded the town of Amboyna. After a fatiguing march, ascending and descending hills over which there was no road, and many of them so extremely steep as to require the assistance of the bushes for the men to get up and down by, they reached an eminence which effectually commanded the enemy, who retired immediately, and the battery was entered without opposition. In this state of things, a summons was sent to the governor on the morning of the 17th, and a capitulation was agreed to, by which the island was given up to the British on the 19th; the garrison to be sent to Java at the expence of the captors. The island was defended by one hundred and thirty Europeans and upwards of one thousand Javanese and Mandurese troops, exclusive of the crews of three vessels sunk in the inner harbour, amounting to two hundred and twenty men, aided by the Dutch inhabitants. The loss sustained by the British at Amboyna, and at the destruction of a Dutch fort at Pooio Comba, in the Celebes, was only five killed and nineteen wounded.

The English took seven vessels of war of various descriptions, forty-two government supply vessels of different descriptions, and three neutrals, in all fifty-two — By another letter from captain Tucker, dated from Amboyna, March 1, it appears, that the valuable islands from Saparona, Harouka, and Nassau-Laut, as well as those of Bouro and Manippa, likewise surrendered to his Britannic majesty's forces.

His majesty's arms were also crowned with success in another expedition in the Indian seas, by which the island of Bonaparte (late Bourbon) was added to his dominions. The expedition consisted of the Boadicea, Neriade, Sirius, and Iphigeniea, under the command of commodore Rowley, and a force of three thousand six hundred and fifty European and Indian troops, under lieutenant colonel Keating. On the 7th of July, a partial landing was effected on the island, but, owing to the violence of the surf, the remainder of the force was not put on shore till the next day, when colonel Keating advanced to the attack of the capital (St Denis). Every thing was in readiness, and the grand attack would have taken place in less than half an hour, when a suspension of arms was demanded by "a brave, though vanquished enemy," and thus, says the colonel, "in a few hours has this rich, extensive, and valuable colony, been added to his gracious majesty's dominions, with a population of upwards of one hundred thousand souls, and with a loss on our part comparatively trifling." By the capitulation, the French troops (fifteen hundred) were allowed the honours of war, they were to be sent to the Cape of Good Hope, and the laws, customs, and religion of the inhabitants, as well as their private property, was to be insured to them. The

Graham attacks the French.

loss of the British consisted of eighteen men killed, and seventy-nine wounded.

In the London Gazette, which appeared on the 15th of January, 1811, are details of the military and naval transactions which took place on the capture of the isles of France and Banda, the only remaining possessions of the French in the Indian Seas. By the capitulation of the Isle of France, the land and sea forces, officers, subalterns, and privates, were to retain their effects and baggage; not to be considered as prisoners of war, but to be conveyed, at the expence of the English, with their families, to some parts of European France. Private property, of course, was to be respected, and the inhabitants maintained in their religion, customs, and laws. The following vessels were found at Port Napoleon; La Minerve, fifty-two guns; La Bellona, forty-eight; L'Astrée, forty-four, La Manchée, forty-four; Iphigenica, thirty-six; Nereide, thirty-six; (these two were formerly English frigates;) Le Victor, sloop, twenty-two; L'Entrepreneur, fourteen; and a new brig (name unknown,) fourteen; The Charlton, Ceylon, and United Kingdom, (formerly English East Indiamen;) and twenty-eight merchant vessels of various burdens, from one hundred and fifty to one thousand tons; besides five gun brigs.

On the 5th of March, 1811, an attack was made by General Graham, with the division under his command, upon the French army under marshal Victor, before Cadiz, composed of the two divisions of Rusin and Laval. The contest was severe, and the result most brilliant and victorious on the part of the allies. Marshal Victor's force consisted of eight thousand men; that of General Graham of five thousand British and Spanish troops. The loss on the side of the French was very

The French pursued to Badajoz.

considerable ; the field being covered with their slain, not less than thirteen hundred men being stated to have fallen. Besides which, the allies took Generals Rusin, Rousseau, and Bellegarde, (the former of whom was wounded, and the second of whom died afterwards of the wounds he had received,) and about four hundred and twenty rank and file ; together with an eagle and six pieces of cannon. The loss on the side of the Allies consisted of one thousand two hundred and forty-three killed and wounded ; but most of the latter were expected to recover. When the expedition against the rear of the French was planned, an arrangement for an attack on the French batteries in Cadiz bay, for the purpose of operating a diversion, was made. But this attack, by reason of the unfavourable weather, could not be executed till the 6th, the day after General Graham's action, when it was carried into effect with all the bravery and coolness of British seamen. All the batteries on the east side of the bay, from Rota to St. Mary's, with the exception of Fort Catalina, were carried by storm, the guns spiked, and the works destroyed.

On the 25th of March, Marshal Beresford had a partial action with the enemy near Campo Major, by which it appears, that the French were pursued to Badajoz, with the loss of between five and six hundred men. The loss on the side of the allies amounted to twenty-four killed, sixty-nine wounded, and seventy-seven missing. The enemy abandoned a considerable supply of provisions when they left Campo Major. They likewise abandoned Albuquerque.

By a despatch from Marshal Beresford, dated April 13, 1811, it appeared, that having completed the bridges over the Guadiana, he crossed that river on the 6th, and

The French desert Almeida.

that the French attacked his advanced posts on the 7th, in the neighbourhood, of Olivença, but were repulsed with loss. The French then withdrew the garrisons, excepting three hundred men from Olivença, and three battalions from Badajoz, on the same day; and on the 8th, the whole corps of Mortier, consisting of six thousand men, took up a position between Albaeiza and Santa Martha. General Cole laid siege to Olivença, which surrendered on the 14th, and Marshal Beresford had his head quarters on the 12th at Santa Martha, the French having retired.

By despatches from lord Wellington, dated the 8th and 10th of May, it appeared, that the enemy's whole army, consisting of the second, sixth, and eighth corps, and all the cavalry that could be collected in Castile and Leon, including nine hundred of the imperial guard, together with some battalions of the ninth corps, crossed the Agueda at Ciudad Rodrigo, on the 9th, and made two desperate attacks on the British army, for the purpose of relieving Almeida. The contest, though very severe, terminated in the complete repulse of the enemy, and the allied army continued to hold its position. On the 7th, at night, the French army retired from the position which they occupied on the preceding day on the Duas Casas. On the 8th, the enemy continued their retreat to the woods between Calligoes Espejas and Fuentes de Honor. On the 9th, they crossed the Azava; and on the 10th, the Agueda, leaving Almeida to its fate. In the action of the 3rd of May, the British loss consisted of twenty-two killed, and one hundred and seventy-one wounded; that of the Portuguese, fourteen killed, and thirty-three wounded. On the 5th, the British loss consisted of one hundred and forty-eight killed, and eight

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Lord Wellington raises the siege of Badajoz.

hundred and seventy-two wounded ; the Portuguese loss, fifty killed, and one hundred and fifty-eight wounded. The number of the allies missing on the two days was three hundred and sixteen. The loss on the part of the French was much more severe.

Indeed, since the retreat of Massena from Portugal, which happened but a little time before these partial actions took place, it was confidently asserted, that the French armies were either destroyed, or reduced to so disorganized a state as to render their escape from Spain problematical ; and that the return of Massena to Paris was occasioned by a conviction, that nothing more on the part of the French could be achieved either in Spain or in Portugal. This, however, appears to have been very far from the truth ; for, by the advices which were received in London from the Peninsula about the close of June, the affairs of the allies seemed to wear a serious aspect. By these advices we learn, that Marshal Soult made his re-appearance at the head of thirty thousand men, on the same ground where the last battle was fought ; after which battle Lord Wellington laid siege to Badajoz ; but by the fresh movements of the French, his lordship was compelled to raise the siege of that town. Marshal Marmont advanced from Placentia in Spain, with a large French force ; Massena also, with the remains of his army, returned, with a view to join Soult ; the French raised the siege of Cadiz, and Marshal Victor advanced with his forces, to strengthen the main army under Soult : in consequence of which movements, the advanced guards of the two armies had an action near Albuera, in which the French were said to have lost two thousand men in killed and wounded ; but the loss on the part of the allies was stated to have been nearly equivalent.

Tarragona taken by the French.

Previously to lord Wellington's abandoning the siege of Badajoz, he made two sanguinary attempts to take the place by storm, but he was completely unsuccessful, and lost about eight hundred men. His lordship, however, candidly confessed, " that he was unfortunately mistaken in his estimate of the quality of the means necessary to take the place."

We may here remark, that on the 9th of June, 1811, the British army in Portugal amounted to fifty thousand men ; of which number thirty thousand were stated to be actually fit for duty ; seven thousand wounded, but doing well, and likely to be able in a short time to return to their duty ; and five thousand sick, which was stated to be no extraordinary number, as the unhealthy season had commenced at the time when this account was made up. The thirteenth regiment of light dragoons went out to Portugal about eighteen months prior to this period, and were nearly one thousand strong ; since that time, however, they received reinforcements, at different times, to the amount of five hundred ; but so constantly had they been in action, and so severely did they suffer, that on the 1st of July, 1811, they could only muster sixty men and horses fit for duty.

The fall of Tarragona, which the French took possession of, occasioned great discomfiture in the minds of the Spaniards ; fears were entertained for other important places ; and these were in some measure realized by the surrender of Figueras, at discretion, on the 19th of July. The garrison consisted of three thousand five hundred men, and nearly three hundred and fifty officers. The blockade of Figueras lasted four months, during which time two thousand men perished within the walls.

On the 20th of September, captain Carteret, of his

Success of the French in Portugal.

Britannic majesty's ship, *Naiad*, had an action with part of the Boulogne flotilla of gun boats and prams. This action was fought in the presence, and at the particular instance of the French Emperor, who conceived that the capture of the *Naiad* would have been the consequence. In this, however, he was sadly disappointed, and had the mortification to behold one of his prams, bearing a commodore's flag, taken by the English, which with a good glass he might have seen shortly after the battle safe under the guns of Dover Castle.

Ciudad Rodrigo had been for some time blockaded by the English under lord Wellington, and a considerable body of Portuguese and Spanish auxiliaries; the French were said to have totally evacuated Portugal, but they suddenly returned with a view to relieve that important fortress; in consequence of which a desperate battle was fought, in which the French were completely successful, and the English raised the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo, towards the close of September. By lord Wellington's dispatches it appears, that "the Portuguese artillerymen attached to the guns, which were for a moment in the enemy's possession, were cut down at their guns." Again, "The enemy having collected for the object of relieving Ciudad Rodrigo, the army of the North, which were withdrawn from the attack which they commenced on general Abadia in Galicia, in which are included twenty-two battalions of the imperial guard, and general Souham's division of infantry, composed of troops recently arrived in Spain from the army of Naples, and now drawn from the frontiers of Navarre, where they had been employed in operations against Mina, together with five divisions, and all the cavalry of the army called of Portugal, composing an army of not less than sixty thousand men, of which six

Suchet defeats the Spaniards.

thousand were cavalry, and one hundred and twenty-five pieces of artillery ; I could not maintain the blockade of Ciudad Rodrigo, nor could any efforts which I could make, prevent, or materially impede the collection of the supplies, or the march of the convoy for the relief of that place. I did all that I could expect to effect without incurring the risk of great loss for no object ; and as the reports, as usual, were so various, in regard to the enemy's real strength, it was necessary that I should see their army." This battle was fought on the 25th of September, and by lord Wellington's return of killed, wounded, and missing, it appeared that the total was, of the English, one hundred and sixty-one ; and of the Portuguese, one hundred. By this defeat lord Wellington retreated sixty miles from the field of battle, to Trexada, where his second despatch is dated from.

After the relief of Ciudad Rodrigo, marshal Suchet advanced against General Blake, and completely defeated the Spanish army under his command. After twenty days' labour and fatigue, Suchet informs us, he succeeded in making a practicable breach in the walls of the castle of Saguntum ; but during this period general Blake, with a view to save Saguntum from falling into the hands of the French, advanced to give Suchet battle, and compel him to raise the siege. This was on the 24th of October ; a battle ensued, and the result was, that after seven hours' hard fighting, the Spaniards were entirely broken and put to flight, with the loss of six thousand five hundred killed, wounded, and prisoners : the latter amounted to four thousand six hundred and thirty-nine, of whom two hundred and thirty were officers, forty colonels or lieutenant-colonels, two field marshals, sixteen pieces of artillery, eight caissons, four thousand two hundred and eight Eng-

Suchet defeats the Spaniards

lish muskets, and four stand of colours. The day after this battle, which was fought on the 25th of October, Suchet summoned the castle of Saguntum to surrender, and the lieutenant colonel of artillery, who was sent with an answer to the summons, was conducted through the midst of the officers and prisoners, that he might have no doubt as to the issue of the battle which had taken place the day before. Saguntum, accordingly surrendered, and the garrison, added to the men taken from the army under general Blake, made the total amount of prisoners seven thousand two hundred and eleven, of whom upwards of three hundred and sixty-nine were officers.

On the other side, general Girard having crossed the Guadiana, and taken a position at Caceres, with a body of French, lord Wellington directed general Hill to endeavour to dispossess him. General Girard, however, left Caceres, and arrived at Arroyados Molinos, on the morning of the 28th of October, when he was surprised by general Hill, and a battle ensued, the result of which was, that two hundred French were killed, and one thousand taken prisoners, including general Biron and the prince d'Aremberg, two colonels, and forty officers, with all their artillery and baggage. General Girard was badly wounded.

After the fall of Saguntum, the key to Valencia, general Blake threw himself into it with seventeen thousand men. Suchet, however, continued his approaches, and, on the 26th of December, made a furious attack upon the Spanish lines. After a slight resistance, these were broken, and the whole army put to the rout. Blake, with about five thousand men effected his escape into the city, whilst Mahi and the other Spanish generals retreated to Alzaydi.

On the 29th of December, general Hill surprised an



Fin

Lieut^{nt} General

LORD HILL, K.B.



Lord Wellington storms Badajoz.

took Merida, with very little loss, as appears by his letter to lord Wellington of the 30th, the French having evacuated it during the night.

On the 12th of January, 1812, Suchet sent an account of the capture of Valencia to his government, which capitulated on the 9th. He says, that the lines were six thousand toises in extent, and that Valencia expended twelve millions of reals, and employed some thousands of men for two years in erecting them. By the surrender of Valencia the French took three hundred and seventy-four pieces of artillery, one hundred and eighty thousand pounds of powder, three millions of cartridges, sixteen-thousand one hundred and thirty-one prisoners of the line, one thousand nine hundred and fifty sick in the hospitals, one thousand eight hundred cavalry and artillery horses, twenty-one stands of colours, eight hundred and ninety-three officers, twenty-two generals or brigadiers. Bonaparte on this occasion, justly appreciating the value of this conquest, and the merits of Suchet, created him duke of Albufera.

On the 19th of the same month, lord Wellington took Ciudad Rodrigo by storm. But the surrender of Valencia was a conquest of by far the greater moment. By the acquisition of Valencia, Suchet obtained possession not only of the chief part of the Spanish regular forces, consisting of upwards of sixteen thousand men, but also of an entire province, which from its situation gave him the command of the sea-coast of the Mediterranean, from Barcelona to the Straits of Gibraltar; while lord Wellington, by the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo, gained only a small portion of territory.

Some time after the taking of Ciudad Rodrigo, lord Wellington laid siege to Badajoz. On the 25th of March

Badajoz taken.

he opened batteries on an outwork of that fortress called La Picwinâ, which he took by storm on the 26th. By the return of killed, wounded, and missing, from the 18th to the 26th, it appears that we lost nine officers, five serjeants, one drummer, one hundred and fourteen rank and file killed ; thirty-four officers, twenty serjeants, two drummers, five hundred and thirty rank and file wounded ; and eleven rank and file missing. At length, on the 6th of April, Badajoz was taken by storm ; but by lord Wellington's return of the killed and wounded, it will appear that the conquest was dearly bought,—seventy-two officers, fifty-one serjeants, two drummers, nine hundred and ten rank and file, killed ; three hundred and six officers, two hundred and sixteen serjeants, seventeen drummers, three thousand two hundred and forty-three rank and file wounded ; and one serjeant and sixty-two rank and file missing.

Thus it appears, that to obtain possession of Badajoz, we lost nearly five thousand brave men. On the night of the storming of Badajoz, which was not in our possession till after six hours hard fighting, a letter from an English officer says, the carnage was horrible to the last degree. The French had employed every imaginable contrivance for repelling the assault. From the peculiar situation of the place it was necessary to scale, although a large breach was effected : the enemy threw down the ladders as fast as they were reared, and thus precipitated whole companies into the fosse. When at last our men established themselves on the walls and leaped down, they fell on *chevaux de frise* formed of old swords ground to the utmost sharpness. There were trenches and breastworks across the streets, and these also undermined ready for blowing up.

Lord Wellington advances to Salamanca.

While Lord Wellington was employed in the siege of Badajoz, the French were by no means inactive: they made a very considerable diversion on the northern bank of the Tagus, which, though not successful in the relief of Badajoz, its original intent, was yet productive of very injurious consequences. Marmont overrun an immense range of country, even to the vicinity of Abrantes. In this excursion the plunder he acquired was considerable, but the property he destroyed was much greater. On the south of the Tagus, however, the British arms were crowned with success. The cavalry of Soult, with a similar view to that of Marmont, had advanced as far as Villa Franca, where they were overtaken and defeated by sir Stapylton Cotton. During the action the enemy's loss was very considerable, and about one hundred and fifty prisoners, including a lieutenant-colonel, two captains, and one lieutenant, with about one hundred and thirty horses, were brought off the field.

On the 19th of May, general sir Rowland Hill obtained a victory over the French at Almarez, in which the enemy had about one hundred killed and three hundred taken prisoners. The loss on the part of the English was one captain, one lieutenant, one serjeant, thirty rank and file killed; two captains, six lieutenants, five ensigns, ten serjeants, one drummer, and one hundred and twenty rank and file wounded.

In consequence of the success of General Hill, lord Wellington advanced towards Salamanca, which he reached on the 16th of June. The same night the French evacuated the town, leaving about eight hundred men in the fortifications which they had erected on the ruins of the colleges and convents which they had des-

Salamanca taken

troyed The British entered the town on the 17th While the French were in possession of Salamanca they destroyed thirteen of twenty five convents, and twenty two out of twenty five colleges, which existed in this celebrated seat of learning

Major General Slade had an action with his cavalry against that of the French under General L'Allemand At first the British appeared to be successful, and the French retreated; but returning to the charge they completely threw the English into confusion, and repulsed them The loss on the part of the English was, two serjeants, twenty rank and file killed twenty-six rank and file wounded, two officers, ten serjeants, one hundred and six rank and file missing, one officers horse wounded, one missing, six troop horses killed, fourteen wounded, one hundred and twenty seven missing Those that were missing it appears were taken prisoners by the French

Lord Wellington, however, although he had entered Salamanca on the 17th of June, did not obtain possession of the forts till the 27th, which were garrisoned by only eight hundred men, as above stated, but, from his return of killed and wounded, it appears that he must have had a difficult task to get possession of them He states, that the loss of the allied army employed against Salamanca was two captains, three lieutenants, one ensign, five serjeants, one drummer, and one hundred and three rank and file, and twenty eight horses killed, one General staff, one lieutenant colonel one major, ten captains ten lieutenants, eleven rank and file, wounded, two lieutenants, eleven rank and file, and five horses missing Grand total of killed wounded and missing, six hundred

Capture of Madrid.

and nine! The grand total of the prisoners taken in the forts of St. Vincente, St. Cayetans, and La Merced, at Salamanca, amounted to seven hundred and six!

On the 21st of July, the French army, under the command of Marshal Marmont, was defeated by that of the allies, commanded by lord Wellington, duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, in the fields of Salamanca, after seven hours continued fighting, in which the infantry, as well as the cavalry and artillery of both nations, performed prodigies of valour. The French were successively dislodged from their advantageous positions, and lost all the artillery which they had placed there. Their loss in men was estimated at ten or twelve thousand, more than four thousand being taken prisoners. The loss of the allies in killed, wounded, and missing, by the return made afterwards, was five thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine. General Marmont was wounded by a shell towards the close of the battle, near the right shoulder, and so badly, that he was forced to be carried off the field in a litter by six grenadiers. At Penaranda his arm was amputated.

Despatches were received from the marquis of Wellington, dated the 13th and 15th of August, which contained intelligence of the allied army having entered Madrid, after an inconsiderable resistance on the 12th. On the capture of Madrid the allies took two thousand five hundred prisoners, one hundred and eighty-nine pieces of cannon, nine hundred barrels of powder, twenty-three thousand two hundred and fifty-four stand of arms, and great magazines of clothing, provisions, and ammunition. It seems that lord Wellington, having entirely dispersed Marmont's army, and ascertained that the remains had retreated upon Burgos, he felt himself

The siege of Burgos raised.

at liberty to look for more important points of enterprise, and moved from Cuestar, on the 6th of August, to Segovia and St. Ildefonso, on his route to Madrid. In this advance the Portuguese cavalry under General D'Urban suffered a severe check, having been seized with a panic prior to a charge on a body of French cavalry which defended a pass near Majalahonda. The English, however, arriving, the enemy retreated, leaving some guns which had been captured in this unfortunate affair. At length the allied army reached the capital of Spain, and lord Wellington, by the prompt and energetic measures which he adopted, soon obtained possession of the place.

Lord Wellington had for some time laid siege to Burgos, but had hitherto been able to make but little progress for want of a sufficient quantity of battering cannon. He lost during the siege a great number of men. He had sprung several mines; but was repulsed with loss in every attempt. At length, on the 18th of October, the mine which he had prepared was sprung at seven in the morning; but the French had been employed in countermining it, and their mine exploded at the same time. The British troops immediately stormed the castle but without success; losing in this attempt upwards of one hundred men killed, and a great many more wounded. So much time having been lost by lord Wellington before this well-defended fortress, gave opportunity to Marshal Soult and King Joseph, in great force, to advance towards Madrid. Fearing, therefore, that the British were not secure in the possession of the capital, lord Wellington determined to raise the siege of Burgos, and advance to the relief of Madrid. His lordship consequently raised the siege of the castle of

Engagement between Murray and Suchet.

Burgos on the 21st of October, leaving the rear guard of his army, under Sir Edward Paget, but without the least hope of his being successful. Lord Wellington, however, found it prudent to abandon Madrid, and continue his retreat to Portugal, for it would have been the height of madness to have risked a battle with the French forces for the salvation of the capital. Lord Wellington, when joined by General Hill, had about fifty thousand effective men; but Marmont's army, consisting of nearly forty thousand men, was expected shortly to join Marshal Soult, whose army amounted to between fifty and sixty thousand, so that it was probable his lordship would have been completely overwhelmed, had he not continued his retreat.

On the 24th of October, General Ballasteros addressed a letter to the minister of war, dated Head Quarters, Grenada, in which he declined to serve under lord Wellington; in consequence of which he was dismissed from his command in the Spanish army. From this time till April, 1813, nothing of any importance took place between the adverse armies in the Peninsula: they seemed to be in a measure inactive, each party appearing to keep the other in check, but neither of them daring to adopt offensive operations. At length, as appears by the dispatch, dated Castalla, April 14, a battle was fought on the preceding day, between General Murray and Suchet, who commanded the French army in person. The French loss amounted "fully to three thousand men. Upwards of eight hundred were buried only in front of one part of the line." The loss on the part of the allies amounted to six hundred and fifty-eight in killed, wounded, and missing, of whom one hundred and forty-five were killed. This, however, appears rather incredible; for it is not

Treaty between France and Russia annihilated

likely that the loss on the part of the enemy in killed should amount to seven times as many as that of the allies

CHAPTER XIII

As we have brought our history of the war in the Peninsula of Spain and Portugal to a late period, we shall now endeavour to give as clear an account of the Russian war as our limits will admit. In doing this, however, we must premise, that as the Russian bulletins during the former war were doubtless very partial, and as we do not find that those of the present are deserving of greater credit, we shall therefore draw our account from such documents as appear to be least liable to objection.

Towards the close of the year 1810, Russia altered her political system the *Ukase* respecting commerce was its first act. The Russian *Ukase* of the 19th of December, 1810, which destroyed the commercial relations of France with that empire, the admission of English commerce, contrary to treaty, into her ports, her armaments, which, from the commencement of 1811, threatened the invasion of the duchy of Warsaw, and finally, the protest respecting Oldenburg, annihilated the treaty of alliance between France and Russia. It no longer existed when on both sides armies were forming for reciprocal observation. The whole of the year 1811, says

Alliance between France and Austria.

the Duc de Bassano, the French minister for foreign affairs, was, however, spent in conference and negotiations with Russia, in the hope of withdrawing, if possible, the cabinet of Petersburg from the war, upon which it appeared to be resolved, and to obtain a knowledge of its real intentions. It is proved to the certainty of evidence, that that power proposed at the same time to depart from the conditions of the treaty of Tilsit, to place herself in peace with England, and to menace the existence of the duchy of Warsaw, making use of the pretexts of indemnities claimed for the duke of Oldenburg.

In February, 1811, five divisions of the Russian army quitted the Danube by forced marches, and proceeded to Poland. By this movement Russia sacrificed Moldavia and Wallachia. When the Russian armies were united and formed, a protest against France appeared, which was transmitted to every cabinet. Russia by that announced, that she felt no wish even to save appearances ; and all means of conciliation employed on the part of France were ineffectual.

Towards the close of 1811, six months after it was manifest in France that all this could end only in war, preparations were made for it. The garrison of Dantzig was increased to twenty thousand men. Stores of every description were conveyed to that place ; and considerable sums of money were placed at the disposal of the department of engineers for the augmentation of its fortifications. The French army was placed on the war establishment. The cavalry, the train artillery, and the military baggage train, were completed. In March, 1812, a treaty of alliance was concluded between France and Austria, by which the latter was to furnish thirty thousand men ; the

Commencement of the Russian campaign.

preceding month a treaty had been concluded between France and Prussia.

In April the first corps of the French Grand Army marched for the Oder, the second corps to the Elbe, the third corps to the Lower Oder, the fourth corps set out from Verona, crossed the Tyrol, and proceeded to Silesia. The guards left Paris. On the 22d of April, the emperor of Russia took the command of his army, quitted St. Petersburg, and moved his head-quarters to Wilna.

In the commencement of May, the first corps arrived on the Vistula, at Elbing and Marienburg; the second corps at Marienwerder, the third corps at Thorn, the fourth and sixth corps at Plock, the fifth corps assembled at Warsaw, the eighth corps on the right of Warsaw, and the seventh corps at Pulawy. The French emperor set out from St. Cloud on the 9th of May; crossed the Rhine on the 13th, the Elbe on the 29th, and the Vistula on the 16th of June.

All the means of effecting an understanding between the two empires became impossible. The spirit which reigned in the Russian cabinet hurried it on to war.

General Narbonne, aid-de-camp to the French emperor, was despatched to Wilna, and could remain there only a few days. By that was gained the proof, that the demand which had been made by prince Kurakin, and in which he declared, that he would not enter into any explanation before France had evacuated the territory of her own allies in order to leave them at the mercy of Russia, was the *sine qua non* of that cabinet.

The first corps advanced to the Pregel. The prince of Eckmühl had his head-quarters, on the 11th of June, at Königsberg.

The marshal duke of Reggio, commanding the second corps, had his headquarters at Weissen; the marshal duke

War with Russia.

of Elchingen, commanding the third corps, at Soldass ; the prince Viceroy, at Rastenberg ; the king of Westphalia, at Warsaw ; the prince Poniatowski, at Pultusk. The French emperor, moved his head-quarters, on the 12th, to Konigsberg, on the Pregel ; on the 17th to Insterburg ; and on the 19th to Gumbinnen.

A slight hope of accommodation still remained. The emperor had given orders to count Lauriston to wait on the emperor Alexander, or on his minister for foreign affairs, and to ascertain whether there might not yet be some means of obtaining a reconsideration of the demand of prince Kurakin, and of reconciling the honour of France, and the interest of her allies, with the opening a negotiation.

The same spirit which had previously swayed the Russian cabinet upon various pretexts, prevented count Lauriston from accomplishing his mission ; and it appeared, for the first time, that an ambassador, under circumstances of so much importance, was unable to obtain an interview, either with the sovereign or his minister. The secretary of Legation, Prevost, carried this intelligence to Gumbinnen ; and the emperor issued orders to march, for the purpose of passing the Niemen. Napoleon then caused a proclamation to the soldiers to be inserted in the orders of the army ; in which it is said, “ At Tilsit, Russia swore eternal alliance with France, and war with England. She now violates her oaths. She refuses to give any explanation of her strange conduct, until the Eagles of France shall have repassed the Rhine, leaving, by such a movement, our allies at her mercy.”

On the 23d of June, the king of Naples, who commands the cavalry, transferred his head-quarters to within two leagues of the Niemen, upon its left bank. The marshal

prince of Eckmuhl, commanding the first corps, moved his head quarters to the skirts of the great forest of Pilwisky. The second corps, and the Imperial guards, followed the line of march of the first corps. The third corps took the direction of Marienpol, the viceroy, with the fourth and sixth corps, which remained in the rear, marched upon Kalwarry. The king of Westphalia proceeded to Novogorod, with the fifth, seventh, and eighth corps. The first Austrian corps, commanded by the prince of Schwartzenberg, quitted Lemberg, made a movement on its left, and drew near to Lublin. The pontoon train, under the orders of General Eble, arrived on the 23d, within two leagues of the Niemen. On the 23d, at two in the morning, the French Emperor arrived at the advanced posts near Kowno, took a Polish cloak and cap from one of the light cavalry, and inspected the banks of the Niemen, accompanied by General Haxo, of the engineers, alone. On the 24th, the Emperor proceeded to Kowno, but it would be unnecessary to mark the various movements of the army, therefore we shall only mention the most important places.

At this period the Emperor of Russia was at Wilna, where he had been for sometime with part of his court and guards, and one part of his army occupied Ronikontoni and Novotroki. The Russian General Bigiwout, commanding the second corps, and a part of the Russian army, having been cut off from Wilna, had no other means of safety than by proceeding towards the Dvina. Several Cossack officers, and officers charged with despatches, were captured by the French light cavalry.

The Niemen it should be observed, is a navigable river of two or three hundred tons, as far as Kowno. The communications by water are also secured as far

The French enter Wilna.

as Dantzig, and with the Vistula, the Oder, and the Elbe. The Wilia, which flows by Wilna, is navigable for very small boats from Kowno to Wilna. Wilna, the capital of Lithuania, is also the chief town of all Polish Russia. Wilna contains from twenty-five to thirty thousand inhabitants, with a great number of convents and fine public buildings. About twenty-four hours after the Russians received intelligence that the French had passed the river at Kowno, the Russian court left the place.

On the 27th the French Emperor arrived at the advanced posts, and put the army in motion for the purpose of approaching Wilna, and attacking the Russian army at day-break of the 28th, should it wish to defend Wilna, or retard its capture, in order to save the immense magazines which it had there. One Russian division occupied Troki, and another division was on the heights of Traka.

At day-break of the 28th, the king of Naples put himself in motion with the advanced guard, and the light cavalry of General count Bruyeres. The marshal prince of Eckmuhl supported him with his corps. The Russians every where retired. After exchanging some cannon-shot, they crossed the Wilia in haste, burned the wooden bridge of Wilna, and set fire to immense magazines, valued at many millions of rubles: more than one hundred and fifty thousand quintals of flour, an immense supply of forage and oats, and a great mass of articles of clothing, were burned. A great quantity of arms and warlike stores, was destroyed-and thrown into the Wilia. At mid-day the French Emperor entered Wilna. In the afternoon the bridge over the Wilia was re-established, and another constructed.

Depredations of the French.

The division Bruyeres followed the enemy by the left bank. In a slight affair with their rear, about eighty carriages were taken from the Russians. The polish light-horse of the guard made a charge on the right bank of the Wilia, put to rout, pursued, and made prisoners, a considerable number of Cossacks.

On the 25th, the duke of Reggio crossed the Wilia; and next day he marched upon Javou, and on the 27th, on Chatoni. This movement obliged the prince of Wittgenstein, commandant of the first corps of the Russian army, to evacuate all Samogitia, and the country lying between Kowno and the sea; and to retire upon Wilkomir, after obtaining a reinforcement of two regiments of the guards.

On the 28th a rencounter took place opposite Develtovo. The Russians were driven from one position to another; and passed the bridge with so much precipitation, that they could not set fire to it. The Russians lost three hundred prisoners, among whom were several officers, and about one hundred killed or wounded. The French loss amounted to about fifty men.

The Russians then set fire to their grand magazine at Wilkomir; but a part of it fell into the hands of the French.

Hitherto the campaign had not been sanguinary; and in all the skirmishes the French did not make above one thousand prisoners. But the Russians lost the capital and the greater part of the Polish provinces. All the magazines of the first, second, and third lines, the result of two years care, and valued at more than twenty millions of rubles, were consumed by the flames, except that part which fell into the power of the French. In short, the head quarters of the French army were now in the place

The Russian retreat.

where the Russian court had fixed its residence for six weeks.

In consequence of the destruction of the triple line of magazines, the Emperor Alexander gave orders for the speedy establishment of magazines at Witepsk, Ostrow, Weliki-Louke, and Pskoff.

The Russian army, however, was posted and organized in a very advantageous manner.

The first corps, commanded by prince Wittgenstein, consisted of eighteen thousand men, including artillery and sappers. The second corps, commanded by General Bagawout, consisted of the same numerical force. The third corps, commanded by General Schomaloff, amounted to twenty-four thousand men. The fourth corps, commanded by General Tutschkoff, consisted of eighteen thousand men. The Imperial guards were at Wilna. The sixth corps, commanded by General Doctorow, consisted of eighteen thousand men: this corps afterwards formed a part of the army of prince Bagrathion. The fifth corps was commanded by prince Bagrathion, and amounted to forty thousand men.

Notwithstanding this immense army of the Russians, the French continued to advance, and the Russians to retreat, destroying almost every thing in their way. The immense magazines which they had in Samogitia were burned by themselves, which occasioned an enormous loss, not only to their finances, but still more to the subsistence of the people.

The corps of Doctorow, however, viz. the sixth corps, was, till the 27th of June, without any orders, and had made no movement. On the 28th it assembled, and put itself in motion, in order to proceed to the Dwina. On the 30th, its advanced guard entered Solemicki. It was

Sudden charge of the Cuirassiers.

charged by the light cavalry of General Baron Fondo Soult, and driven out of the village. Doctorow, perceiving that he was anticipated, turned to the right, and made for Ochimiana. General baion Pajol arrived at that place with his light cavalry, at the moment when Doctorow's vanguard entered it. General Pajol charged. The Russians were sabred and overthrown in the town.

General Doctorow, perceiving that his route was intercepted, fell back upon Olchanoui. Marshal the prince of Eckmuhl, with a division of infantry, the cuirassiers of the division of count Valence, and the second regiment of light cavalry of the guard, moved upon Ochimani, in order to support General Pajol.

The corps of Doctorow, thus cut off and driven towards the south, continued to prosecute the movement on the right by forced marches, with the sacrifice of its baggage, upon Smoroghoui, Danowchess, and Robouilniki, whence he made for the Dwina. This movement had been foreseen by the French; and General Nansouty, with a division of cuirassiers, the division of light cavalry of count Bruyeres, and count Moran's division of infantry, advanced to Mikailtchki, with a view to cut off this corps. He arrived on the 3rd at Swin, at the time when it passed that place, and pushed it briskly. He took a large number of waggons, and obliged the Russians to abandon some hundreds of baggage carts. From these incessant skirmishes Doctorow's army suffered in a very severe manner.

At this period torrents of rain fell during thirty-six hours, without intermission. The weather suddenly changed from extreme heat to extreme cold. Several thousands of horses perished by the effects of this sudden

Marshal Eckmuhl enters Minsk.

transision ; and convoys of artillery were stopped by the mud. This terrible storm, which fatigued both men and beasts, retarded the march of the French army ; and the corps of Doctorow, which successively fell in with the columns of General Borde Soult, of General Pajol, and General Nansouty, narrowly escaped destruction.

Prince Bagrathion marched towards the Dwina ; and the king of Westphalia entered Grodno the same day. The Hetman Platoff was at Grodno with his Cossacks. When charged by the light cavalry of prince Poniatowski, the Cossacks were dispersed in every direction ; and at that town the French found materials for one hundred thousand rations of bread, and some remains of the magazine.

On the 5th of July, General count Sebastiani arrived at Vidzoni, whence the Emperor of Russia had departed on the preceding evening.

The General of brigade Roussel, with the ninth regiment of Polish light cavalry, and the second regiment of Prussian hussars, passed the Dziana on the same day, overthrew six Russian squadrons, sabred a great number, and took forty-five prisoners, with several officers ; and General Nansouty took one hundred and thirty Russian mounted hussars and dragoons prisoners.

Marshal the prince of Eckmuhl entered Minsk on the 8th, and found there considerable magazines of flour, hay, clothing, &c. Prince Bagrathion had already arrived at Novei-Sworgiew ; and perceiving that he was anticipated, sent orders to burn the magazines ; but he was two late, for the French, under the prince of Eckmuhl, had got possession of them.

The king of Westphalia was on the 9th at Novogrodek ; General Regnier, at Konina : magazines, baggage wag-

Tarentum leaves Rossien

gons, quantities of medicines, and straggling parties continually fell into the hands of the French. The Russian divisions were straying in these countries without any previously arranged route, pursued on every side, losing their baggage, burning their magazines, destroying their artillery, and leaving their places defenceless.

General baron Colbert took, at Vileika, a magazine of three hundred quintals of flour, an hundred thousand rations of bread, &c. He found also at that place a chest containing two hundred thousand francs, in copper money.

Since the opening of the campaign, the French took from two thousand to two thousand five hundred Russian prisoners, their own loss being but trifling in comparison with that of the Russians.

Thus, ten days after opening the campaign, the advanced posts of the French army were upon the Dwina. Almost the whole of Lithuania, containing four millions of inhabitants, were conquered. The operations of the war commenced at the passage of the Vistula, and the French army, by making forced marches from the period of passing that river, advanced upon the Dwina. The distance between the Vistula and the Dwina is greater than that between the Dwina and Mosiere, or Petersburgh.

The French Emperor erected upon the right bank of the Wilia an entrenched camp surrounded by redoubts, and constructed a citadel upon the mountain, on which was the ancient palace of the Jagellons.

On the 4th of July marshal the duke of Tarentum set out from his head-quarters in Rossien the capital of Samogitia, one of the finest and most fertile provinces in Poland, the General of brigade, Baron Ricard, with a

The Russians defeated.

part of the seventh division, to march upon Ponieuicz; where he arrived so suddenly, that the Russians had not time to destroy their magazines, which contained thirty thousand quintals of meal. He also took one hundred and sixty prisoners, among whom were four officers.

The march of the army from Kowno upon Wilna, and from Wilna upon Dunaburg and Minsk, obliged the Russians to abandon the banks of the Niemen, which the French immediately passed. When the prince of Eckmuhl seized upon the strong place of Borisow, upon the Beresina, sixty thousand pounds of powder, sixteen pieces of besieging artillery, and some hospitals, fell into his power. Considerable magazines were set on fire by the Russians, but a part was saved by the French.

On the 10th of July, General Latour Maubourg sent the division of light cavalry, commanded by General Rosnicki, in advance towards Mir. It met the Russian rear guard at a short distance from that town; when a very brisk engagement took place, and the Polish division remained masters of the field. The General of Cossacks Gregariow was killed, and one thousand five hundred Russians were killed and wounded. The loss of the French, at the utmost, was not more than six hundred, in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The bodies of the Russian General of division count Pahlen, and of the Russian colonels Adronoff and Jesswayski were recognized on the field of battle.

The diet at Warsaw, being constituted into a General confederation of Poland, named prince Adam Czartorinski for its president. This prince, aged eighty years, had for fifty years been marshal of the diet of Poland. The first act of the diet was to declare the kingdom of Poland re-established. A deputation from the confederation was

Alexander repairs to the capital.

same happened to their works, which, according to the report of the people of the country, cost the Russians in one year not less than six thousand men.

In their movements, the Russians were obliged to destroy their baggage, and to throw their artillery and arms into the rivers. The Poles of the Russian army availed themselves of this precipitate retreat to desert; and waited in the woods till the arrival of the French. The number of Poles who deserted the Russian army, were calculated at twenty thousand men.

On the 20th, the prince of Eckmuhl advanced upon Mohilow; the garrison of which consisted of two thousand men, who defended it; but they were sabred by the light cavalry. The French now occupied Mohilow, Orcha, Disna, and Polotsk, and were advancing on Witepsk, where the Russian army was concentrated.

The Emperor of Russia and the grand duke Constantine quitted the army, and repaired to the capital. On the 17th, the Russian army left the entrenched camp of Drissa, and marched towards Polotsk and Witepsk. The Russian army which was at Drissa consisted of five corps-d'armée, each of two divisions, and of four divisions of cavalry. One corps-d'armée, that of prince Wittgenstein, remained for the purpose of covering St. Petersburg; the four other corps, having arrived on the 24th at Witepsk, crossed to the left bank of the Dwina. The corps of Ostermann, with a party of the cavalry of the guards, put itself in motion at day-break of the 25th, and marched upon Ostrovno.

On the 25th of July, General Nansouty, with the divisions Bruyeres and St. Germain, and the eighth regiment of light infantry, encountered the Russians two leagues in advance of Ostrovno. Several charges of cavalry took

The Russians driven from their posts.

place ; all of which were in favour of the French. The Russian cavalry, of which a part belonged to the guards, was overthrown. The batteries which the Russians opened upon the French cavalry were carried. The Russian infantry, who advanced to support their artillery, were broken and sabred by the French light cavalry.

On the 26th, the Viceroy marching with the division Delzon at the head of the columns, an obstinate action of the advanced guard, of from fifteen to twenty thousand men, took place a league beyond Ostrovno. The Russians were driven from their positions one after another ; and the woods were carried by the bayonet.*

On the 27th at day-break, the viceroy made the division Broussier file off in advance. The eighteenth regiment of light infantry, and brigade of light cavalry of the baron de Piré, wheeled to the right. The division Broussier marched by the great road, and repaired a small bridge which the Russians had destroyed. At day-break, the Russian rear-guard, consisting of ten thousand cavalry, was perceived drawn up *en echelon* on the plain ; their right resting on the Dwina, and their left on a wood lined with infantry and artillery. General count Broussier took post on an eminence with the fifty-third regiment, waiting till the whole of his division had passed the desile. Two companies of voltigeurs had marched in advance, alone ; they skirted the bank of the river, advancing towards that enormous mass of cavalry, which made a forward movement,

* General Roussel, a brave soldier, being the whole day at the head of the battalions, was visiting the advanced posts at ten at night, when a sentinel took him for an enemy, fired upon him, and the ball shattered his skull.

The French enter Witepsk

and surrounded these two hundred men, who concentrated themselves with the greatest coolness, and remained during a whole hour hemmed in on all sides, they are said to have killed and wounded more than three hundred of the Russian horsemen. The division Delzon desisted on the right. The king of Naples directed the wood and the Russian batteries to be attacked. In less than an hour all the Russian positions were carried, and they were driven across the plain beyond a small river which enters the Dwina below Witepsk. The French army took a position on the banks of this river, at the distance of a league from the town. The Russians displayed in the plain fifteen thousand cavalry, and sixty thousand infantry. A battle was expected next day, the French Emperor spent the remainder of the night in reconnoitring the field, and in making his dispositions for next day, but at day-break the Russian army was retreating in all directions towards Smolensk.

In these three actions of Ostrovno the French took ten pieces of cannon of Russian manufacture, (the gunners were sabred,) twenty caissons of ammunition, one thousand five hundred prisoners, five or six thousand Russians killed or wounded. The Russians had three Generals killed or wounded. A considerable number of colonels and superior officers of their army remained on the field of battle.

On the 22nd at day-break, the French entered Witepsk, a town containing thirty thousand inhabitants. It has twenty convents. The French found in it some magazines, particularly one of salt, valued at fifteen millions.

While the French army was marching on Witepsk, the general of Reichenau was attacked at Mohilow. Bagration passed the Beresina at Bobruisk, and marched upon Novo-

Prince Eckmühl defeats the Russians.

bikow. At day-break on the 23d, three thousand Cossacks attacked the third regiment of chasseurs, and took one hundred of them, among whom were the colonel and four officers, all wounded. The *generale* was beat ; an action commenced. The Russian General Sieverse, with two select divisions, began the attack. From eight in the morning till five in the afternoon, the firing was kept up on a strip of wood, and at a bridge which the Russians wished to force. At five, the prince of Eckmühl caused three chosen battalions to advance, put himself at their head, overthrew the Russians, carried their position, and pursued them for a league. The loss of the Russians is estimated at three thousand killed and wounded, and one thousand one hundred prisoners. The French lost seven hundred killed and wounded. Bagrathion repulsed, retired upon Bickow, where he passed the Borysthenes, to advance towards Smolensk.

The heat at this time was excessive, greater than what it is in Italy. The thermometer was at twenty-six and twenty-seven degrees ; even the nights were warm.

General Skamenskoi, with two divisions of the corps of Bagrathion, having been cut off from that corps, and not being able to rejoin it, entered Volhynia, effected a junction with the division of recruits commanded by General Tormasoff, and marched upon the seventh corps of the French army. He surprized and cut off the Saxon brigadier-General Klengel, who had under his command an advanced guard of two battalions, and two squadrons of prince Clement's regiment. After a resistance of six hours, the greater part of this advanced guard were killed or taken.

On the 19th, the Russian General Grawert attacked the Russians at Eckau, in Courland, took two hundred.

The Russians cross the Drissa, and are defeated by the duke of Reggio. prisoners, and killed a considerable number. When General Grawert had effected a junction with General Kleist, he drove the Russians before him on the road to Riga, and invested the *tete-du-pont*.

On the 20th, the Viceroy sent to Wely a brigade of Italian light cavalry : two hundred men charged four Russian battalions of the depot, who were on their route to Twer, broke them, took four hundred prisoners, and one hundred waggons loaded with military stores.

On the 30th, the aid-de-camp Traire, who had been sent forward with the queen's regiment of dragoons of the Royal Italian guard, arrived at Ouvrath, took a captain and forty men prisoners, and obtained possession of two hundred carriages loaded with flour.

On the 1st of August, the Russians crossed the Drissa, and presented themselves in battle array in front of the second corps. The duke of Reggio allowed half their corps to cross, and as soon as he perceived about fifteen thousand men and fourteen pieces of cannon over, he unmasked a battery of forty pieces of cannon, which played upon them with grape-shot for nearly an hour. At the same time the divisions Legrand and Verdié made a running charge with the bayonet, and drove the greater part of the Russians into the river. All their artillery and military chests were taken, three thousand prisoners, among whom were several officers, and one of General Wittzenstein's staff, together with three thousand five hundred men killed or wounded, are the result of this affair.

The Emperor of Russia had ordered levies of men in the two governments of Witebsk and Mohilow ; but before his ukases could reach those provinces, the French were masters of them.

The French enter Dunaburg.

General Ricard, with his brigade, entered Dunaburg on the 1st of August, where he found twenty pieces of cannon; all the remainder having been taken away. The duke of Tarentum also arrived there on the 2nd. Thus Dunaburg, which the Russians had been fortifying for five years, where they had expended several millions, which cost them more than twenty thousand men during the labour, was abandoned without firing a gun.

In consequence of the taking of Dunaburg, Napoleon ordered, that a park of one hundred pieces of artillery, which he had formed at Magdeburg, and which had advanced upon the Niemen, should retrograde to Dantzie, and be put in depot in that place. At the commencement of the campaign, two besieging parks of artillery had been prepared; one against Dunaburg, the other against Riga.

On the 8th of August, twelve thousand of the Russian cavalry marched upon Inkovo, and attacked General count Sebastiani's division, which for half a league was obliged to fight, retreating all the way, suffering and causing equal loss to the Russians. A company of voltigeurs, of the twenty-fourth regiment of light infantry, forming part of a battalion of that regiment, which had been confided to the cavalry, to maintain a position in a wood, was taken. The French had about two hundred killed and wounded; the loss of the Russians was not so great.

On the 14th, at day-break, General Grouchy marched upon Leacbri, chased two regiments of Cossacks from it, and there found the corps of General count Nansouty. The same day the king of Naples, supported by the duke of Elchingen, arrived at Krasnoi. The twenty-seventh Russian division, consisting of five thousand infantry,

The heights of Smolensk invested by the French

supported by two thousand cavalry, and twelve pieces of cannon, was in a position before that town: it was attacked and forced by the duke of Elchingen. The twenty-fourth regiment of light infantry attacked the small town of Krasnoi with the bayonet, with great intrepidity. The taking of eight pieces of cannon, fourteen caissons, one thousand five hundred prisoners, with a field covered with more than one thousand Russians, were the result of the battle of Krasnoi, in which the Russian division, consisting of five thousand men, suffered a loss of nearly half its number.

On the 16th, in the morning, the heights of Smolensk were commanded by the French. The town presented to their view an enclosure of walls of four thousand toises, ten feet thick, and twenty-five feet high, intersected with towers, several of which were armed with cannon of a heavy calibre. The French Emperor reconnoitred the town, and placed his army in its position on the same day. Marshal the duke of Elchingen had the left leaning on Borysthenes, the prince of Lekmuhl the centre, prince Poniatowski the right, the guards were placed in reserve in the centre, the viceroy in reserve on the right, and the cavalry under the orders of the king of Naples, at the extremity of the right, the duke of Abrantes, with the eighth corps, lost his way, and made a false movement. The 16th, and half of the 17th, was passed in observation. A fire of musketry was kept up along the line. The Russians occupied Smolensk with thirty thousand men, and the remainder of their army was formed upon the fine positions upon the right bank of the river, opposite the town, and communicating by three bridges. Smolensk is considered as a strong town by the Russians, as the bulwark of Moscow. On the 17th, at two in the after-

The French attack Smolensk.

noon, seeing that the Russians had not debouched, that they were fortifying themselves in Smolensk, the French Emperor marched upon the right, and ordered prince Poniatowski to change his front, the right in advance, and to place his right to the Borysthenes, occupying one of the suburbs by posts and batteries, to destroy the bridge, and intercept the communication of the town with the right bank. During this time, the prince of Eckmuhl received orders to attack two of the suburbs which the Russians had intrenched, two hundred toises distant from the town; and which were each defended by seven or eight thousand men, and heavy cannon. At two in the afternoon, count Bruyere's division of cavalry, having driven away the Cossacks and Russian cavalry, approached the bridge highest up the river, a battery of ten pieces of artillery established upon this ground, opened a fire of grape shot upon that part of the Russian army which was upon the right bank of the river, and quickly obliged the Russian masses of infantry to evacuate that position. The Russians then placed two batteries of twenty pieces of cannon in a convent, to annoy the battery which played upon the bridge. At three, the cannonade commenced. At half past four a very brisk fire of musketry began; and at five, the divisions of Morand and Gudin carried the Russian entrenched suburbs, and pursued them to the covered-way, which was strewed with Russian dead. The duke of Elchingen attacked the position which the Russians had without the town, seized upon it, and pursued them to the glacis. At five o'clock, the communication of the town with the right bank became difficult, and could only be accomplished by isolated men. Three batteries of breaching twelve pounders were placed against the walls at six in the evening; one by Friant's division, and the

Battle of Valentina

power of the French army. The Bavarian general, Deroy, was wounded.

On the 19th, at break of day, the bridge being finished, the marshal duke of Elchingen crossed over to the right bank of the Borysthenes, and pursued the Russians. At one league from the town he encountered the last column of the Russian rear-guard. It was a division of five or six thousand men stationed on fine heights. He caused them to be attacked with the bayonet by the fourth regiment of infantry of the line, and by the seventy-second ditto. The position was carried, and three or four hundred prisoners fell into the hands of the French. The flying Russians retired on the second column, which was posted on the heights of Valentina. The first position was carried by the tenth of the line, and towards four o'clock in the afternoon, the musketry fire was kept up against the whole of their rear-guard, which presented about fifteen thousand men. The duke of Abrantes had passed the Borysthenes at two o'clock, to the right of Smolensk, and he found himself close upon the rear of the Russians. Four divisions then advanced to support their rear-guard, and, among others, the divisions of grenadiers, which until now had not come forward; five or six thousand cavalry formed their right, whilst their left was covered by woods, filled with tirailleurs. It was of the greatest consequence to them to keep this position as long as possible, it being a very fine one. The French on their part attached no less importance to it, in order to necessitate the retreat of the Russians, and cause all the cartridges filled with wounded and other articles to be abandoned, which were protected by the rear guard. This was what gave rise to the battle of Valentina, one of the finest feats of arms in military history. At six o'clock in the evening,

Caulincourt enters Viasma.

the division of Gudin pushed forward a column on the centre of the Russian position, which, after an hour's combat, was forced. General count Gudin was mortally wounded. General Girard took the command of the division. The Russians, after this battle, precipitated their retreat in such a manner, that on the day of the 20th, the French troops marched twenty leagues, without being able to find the Cossacks, and every where picking up the wounded and the stragglers.

The loss of the French in the battle of Valentina was seven hundred killed, and two thousand six hundred wounded. That of the Russians was upwards of one thousand five hundred: the French took one thousand prisoners, mostly wounded.

Thus the only two divisions of the Russian army, which had not suffered by the preceding combats of Mohilow, Ostrovno, Krasnobi, and Smolensk, now suffered by the battle of Valentina.*

General count Caulincourt entered Viasma on the 29th of August, at day-break. The Russians had burned the bridges, and set fire to several quarters of the city. Viasma is a town of fifteen thousand inhabitants: there are four thousand burghers, merchants, and artizans; there are thirty-two churches. Considerable resources in flour, soap, drugs, &c. and large magazines of brandy, were found by the French: The Russians burnt the magazines;

* It is curious to observe, that in the midst of all these disasters, the Russians never ceased to chant *Te Deums*; they converted every thing into a victory; but, in spite of the ignorance and brutality of these people, even this began to appear ridiculous to them, and their eyes, by the advance of the French army, began now to be opened.

The Russians flee from their Posts.

and the finest houses in the town were on fire when the French arrived. Two battalions of the 25th were employed with much activity in extinguishing them. It was got under, and saved three quarters of the town. The Cos-sacks, before they left it, committed the most dreadful pillages. All the population of the towns retired upon Moscow.

The French head-quarters were, on the 1st and 2d of September, at Ghjat.* The Russians set fire to Ghjat, as well as to the other places which they abandoned; but the French entered in time to extinguish it. The French army rested on the 2d and 3d in the vicinity of Ghjat, and threw six bridges over that river.

On the morning of the 5th, the French army was in motion, and in the afternoon, they perceived the Russians formed with their right upon the Moskwa, the left upon the heights on the left bank of the Kologha. At one thousand two hundred toises in advance of the left, the Russians had begun to fortify a fine height, between two woods, where they had placed nine or ten thousand men. The French Emperor, having reconnoitred it, resolved to carry this position. Two hours afterwards the attack com-

* The Ghjat river empties itself into the Wolga, and is navigable to the Caspian Sea. The city of Ghjat contains a population of eight or ten thousand souls. Many of the houses are built of stone and brick. There are many parish churches, and several manufactories of linen cloth. Agriculture has made great progress in this country within the last forty years. It no longer bears any resemblance to the descriptions which are given of it. Potatoes, pulse, and cabbages, grow there in abundance; and the granaries are generally full.

The Russians defeated.

menced. In one hour the redoubt was carried, with the cannon; the Russian corps driven from the wood, and put to flight, leaving nearly the fourth part of their men on the field of battle. At seven in the evening the firing ceased.

On the 6th, the day was passed in reconnoitring. The position of the Russians was exceedingly strong. The Russians were estimated at one hundred and twenty or one hundred and thirty thousand men, and the army of the French consisted of about the same number.

On the morning of the 7th, prince Poniatowski put himself in motion to turn the forest on which the Russians rested their left. The prince of Eckmuhl marched on the skirt of the forest. Two batteries of sixty cannon each, commanding the enemy's position, had been constructed in the night. At six o'clock, General count Sorbier, who had the armed battery on the right with the artillery of the reserve of the guard, commenced the fire. General Perney, with thirty pieces of cannon, skirted the wood, turning the head of the Russian position. At half-past six, General Compans was wounded; at seven, the prince of Eckmuhl had his horse killed. The attack advanced: the musketry commenced. The viceroy, who formed the French left, attacked and carried the village of Borodino. At seven, the marshal duke of Elchingen put himself in motion, and, under the protection of sixty pieces of canon, bore upon the centre. A thousand pieces of cannon spread death on all sides. At eight o'clock, the Russian positions were carried, their redoubts taken, and the French artillery crowned his heights. The advantage of position, which the Russian batteries had enjoyed for two hours, now belonged to the French. A part of the Russian artillery was taken; the rest were withdrawn to

The Russians defeated.

lines in the rear. In this extremity they attempted to restore the combat, and to attack those strong positions which had fallen into the hands of the French. Three hundred pieces of French cannon placed on these heights, thundered upon their masses, and their soldiers died at the foot of those parapets which they had raised with so much labour as a protecting shelter.

The Russians still held their redoubts to the right. General count Morand marched thither, and carried them; but at nine in the morning, attacked on all sides, he was obliged to give way. The Russians attacked the French centre, and for a moment it was feared that they might carry the village which was burnt; the division Friant advanced thither: eighty pieces of French cannon immediately arrested the enemy's columns, which stood for two hours in close order, under the chain shot, not daring to advance, and unwilling to retire. The king of Naples decided their uncertainty. He caused the fourth corps of cavalry to make a charge, who penetrated through the breaches which the cannon shot had made in the condensed masses of the Russians, and the squadrons of their cuirassiers; they dispersed on all sides. The General of division count Caulincourt advanced at the head of the fifth regiment of cuirassiers, and entered the redoubt on the left by its gorge. From this moment there was no longer any uncertainty. He turned upon the Russians the twenty-one pieces of cannon which were found in the redoubt. Count Caulincourt was killed by a cannon ball. It was now two in the afternoon; the Russians had lost all hopes; the battle was ended; but the cannonade still continued; the Russians now sought for retreat and safety, but no longer for victory. The loss of the Russians was enormous; from twelve to thirteen

Moscow taken by the French.

thousand men, and from eight to nine thousand horses, were counted on the field of battle: sixty pieces of cannon and five thousand prisoners were taken by the French; whose loss was estimated at ten thousand men in killed, wounded, or taken. General Bagrathion was wounded. The French General of division Montbrun, was killed by a cannon-ball; General count Caulinecourt, who was sent to occupy his place, was killed by a shot of the same kind, an hour afterwards. The French Generals of brigade Compere, Plauzonne, Marion, and Huart, were killed; seven or eight Generals were wounded, the most of them slightly.

Such is a slight sketch of the battle of Moskwa, fought a few leagues in the rear of Mojaisk, and twenty-five leagues from Moscow, near the little river Moskwa. The French fired sixty thousand cannon shot.

After the battle of the Moskwa the French army pursued the Russians upon Moscow, by the three routes of Mojaisk, Svenigorod, and Kalouga; and on the 14th of September, at mid-day, the French entered Moscow.

The city of Moscow is as large as Paris; it is an extremely rich city, full of palaces of all the nobles of the empire. The Russian governor, Rostopchin, wished to ruin this fine city when he saw it abandoned by the Russian army. He armed three thousand malefactors whom he had taken from the dungeons; he also summoned six thousand satellites, and distributed arms among them from the arsenal.

The French advanced guard, arrived in the centre of the city, was received by a fire of musketry, which issued from the Kremlin. The king of Naples ordered a battery

of a few pieces of cannon to be opened, and soon took possession of the Kremlin

The French Emperor took up his abode in the Kremlin, which is in the centre of the city, like a kind of citadel, surrounded by high walls. Thirty thousand wounded or sick Russians were in the hospitals, abandoned, without succour, and without nourishment

Moscow is the *entrepot* of Asia and of Europe. Its warehouses were immense, every house was provided for eight months with necessaries of every description. It was only the evening before, and the day of the entrance of the French, that the danger became known. Moscow, one of the finest and richest cities in the world, is no more. On the 14th the Russians set fire to the exchange, to the bazar, and to the hospital. Three or four hundred Russians set fire to the city in five hundred different places at the same moment, by order of the governor Rostopchin. Five-sixths of the houses were built of wood, so that the fire spread with a prodigious rapidity: it was, in fact, an ocean of flame. Churches, of which there were one thousand six hundred, above one thousand palaces, immense magazines, nearly all fell a prey to the devouring element. The Kremlin was preserved. The loss is incalculable for Russia, for her commerce, and for her nobility, who had left all there. The French bulletin says, it is not overrating its value to state it at many milliards. About one hundred of these incendiaries were apprehended by the French and shot; all of them declared that they acted under the orders of Rostopchin, and the director of the police. Thirty thousand sick and wounded Russians were burnt. The richest commercial houses in Russia were ruined. The

Conflagration of Moscow.

clothing, the magazines, and the equipment of the Russian army were consumed. They have thus lost every thing: they would remove nothing, because they thought it impossible for the French to reach Moscow. When they saw all in the hands of the French, they conceived the horrible project of destroying by fire this first capital, the centre of the empire; and they reduced to beggary two hundred thousand respectable inhabitants. The inhabitants endeavoured to stop the progress of the flames; but the governor had taken the horrid precaution of carrying off or destroying all the engines.

In the twenty-first French bulletin it is said, "Three hundred incendiaries have been arrested and shot; they were provided with fuses six inches long, which they had between two pieces of wood: they had also squibs, which they threw upon the roofs of the houses. The wretch Rostopchin had these prepared, on pretence that he wished to send a balloon, full of combustible matter, amidst the French army. He thus got together the squibs and other materials, necessary for the execution of his project.

The fire subsided on the 19th and 23d; three quarters of the city were burned; among other palaces that beautiful one of Catharine, which had been newly finished: not above a quarter of the houses remained.

While Rostopchin was taking away the fire engines of the city, he left behind him sixty thousand muskets, one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, more than six hundred thousand balls and shells, one million five hundred thousand cartridges, four hundred thousand pounds of gun powder, four hundred thousand pounds of saltpetre and sulphur. It was not till the 19th, that the powder, saltpetre, and sulphur were discovered at a fine establish-

Distress of the Russians.

ment, half a league from the city, by the French, who every day discovered cellars full of wine and brandy. Manufactures were beginning to flourish at Moscow: they were destroyed. The conflagration of this capital will throw Russia, says the bulletin, one hundred years back.

The colours taken by the Russians from the Turks in different wars, and several curious things found in the Kremlin, were sent off for Paris. The French found a Madona enriched with diamonds, which they also sent to Paris.

In the 24th bulletin, dated October 14, it is said, the engineers have taken a plan of the city of Moscow, in which those houses are marked which were saved from the flames. It results, that we did not succeed in saving more than the tenth part of the town; the other nine-tenths exist no longer.

All the sick belonging to the French, who were in the hospitals of Moscow, left them on the 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th of October, for Mojaisk and Smolensk. The artillery caissons, the ammunition taken; a great quantity of curious things, and two trophies, were packed up and sent off on the 15th. The French army received orders to take biscuit for twenty days, and hold itself in readiness to march: in effect, the French Emperor left Moscow on the 19th. The head quarters were the same day at Disna. On the one side, the Kremlin has been armed and fortified, and at the same time it has been mined, in order to blow it up.

The Russian Cossacks appeared in great numbers, and annoyed the French cavalry: the advanced guard of cavalry placed in advance of Venkovo, were surprised by a horde of Cossacks, who were in the camp before they

The Kremlin destroyed.

could mount on horseback. They took part of General Sebastiani's park of artillery, one hundred baggage waggon, and made about one hundred prisoners.

Marshal the duke of Treviso remained at Moscow with a garrison.

After Moscow had ceased to exist, and the bulletin asserts, the French Emperor determined either to abandon this heap of ruins, or only to occupy the Kremlin with three thousand men; but the Kremlin, after fifteen days' labour, was not deemed sufficiently strong to be abandoned for twenty or thirty days to its own forces. It would have weakened and incommoded the army in its movements, without giving a great advantage. Twenty thousand men would have been necessary to protect Moscow from the beggars and plunderers. Moscow is, at present, a truly unhealthy and impure sink. A population of two hundred thousand wandering in the neighbouring woods, dying with hunger, came to these ruins to seek what remains, and vegetables in the gardens to support life. It appeared useless to compromise any thing whatever for an object which was of no military value, and which has now become of no political importance. All the magazines which were in the city having been carefully examined, and the others emptied, the French Emperor caused the Kremlin to be mined. The duke of Treviso caused it to be blown up at two o'clock *a. m.* on the 23d: the arsenal, barracks, magazines—all were destroyed. This ancient citadel, which takes its date from the foundation of the monarchy—this first palace of the Czars, has been destroyed! The duke of Treviso has marched for Vereia. The Emperor of Russia's aid-de-camp, baron Winzingerode, having, on the 22d, attempted to penetrate at the head of five hundred Cossacks, was

The French advance to Ghorodna

repulsed and taken prisoner, with a young Russian officer named Nareskin. On the 19th, the head-quarters were in the castle of Troitskoi; they remained there on the 20th. On the 21st they were at Ignatien, the 22d at Pominskoi, all the army having made two flank marches; and the 23d at Borowsk.

On the 27th of October, prince Poniatowski marched upon Vereia. On the 23d, the French army was about to follow this movement, but, in the afternoon, they learnt that the Russians had quitted their entrenched camp, and were on march to the little town of Maloyaroslavitz. The viceroy received orders to march. Delzon's division arrived on the 23d, at six in the evening, on the left bank; took possession of the bridge, and caused it to be repaired. In the night between the 23d and 24th, the Russian division arrived in the town, and took possession of the heights on the right bank, which are extremely advantageous. On the 24th, at day-break, the battle commenced. During this time, the Russian army appeared quite entire, and took a position behind the town. The divisions Delzon, Broussier, and Pino, and the Italian guard, were successively engaged. Two thirds of the Russian army were engaged to maintain this position, but this was in vain, for the town was taken, as well as the heights. The Russians retreated so precipitately, that they were obliged to throw twenty pieces of cannon into the river. Towards night, the marshal prince of Eckmühl debouched with his corps, and all the army was in order of battle, with its artillery, on the 25th, in the position which the Russians occupied the night before.

The French Emperor moved his head-quarters on the 24th to the village of Ghorodna. At seven in the morning, six thousand Cossacks, who had slipped into the wood,

Sufferings of the French.

made a general huzza in the rear of his position, and took six pieces of cannon, which were parked. The duke of Istria set off at a gallop with all the horse guards. This horde was sabred ; the artillery it had taken was recovered, and several of his waggons were captured ; six hundred of these Cossacks were killed, wounded, or taken ; thirty men of the guards were wounded and three killed. The General of division, count Rapp, had a horse killed under him.

The Emperor marched to Maloyaroslavitz, reconnoitred the position of the Russians, and ordered an attack next morning ; but in the night they retreated. The French Emperor then directed the movement upon Vareia. On the 26th, head-quarters were at Borowsk, and on the 27th at Vereia.

In the battle of Maloyaroslavitz, General baron Delzon, a distinguished officer, was killed with three balls. The French loss was one thousand five hundred men killed or wounded ; that of the Russians five or six thousand. The French found on the field of battle one thousand seven hundred Russians, amongst whom were one thousand one hundred recruits, dressed in grey jackets, having hardly served two months. The Russians had three Generals killed ; and General count Pino was slightly wounded.

The French imperial head-quarters were, on the 1st of November, at Viasma, and on the 9th at Smolensk. The weather was very fine up to the 6th, but on the 7th winter began. The ground was covered with snow. The roads became very slippery, and very difficult for carriage horses. The French lost many men by cold and fatigue ; night bivouakings* were very injurious to them.

* These are extraordinary night-guards for the security of a camp or army.

Sufferings of the French

Since the battle of Maloyaroslavitz, the advanced guard of the French saw no other enemy than the Cossacks, who, like the Arabs, pour upon the flanks, and fly about to annoy.

On the 2d, at two in the afternoon, twelve thousand Russian infantry, covered by a cloud of Cossacks, intercepted the communication, a league's distance from Viasma, between the prince of Eckmühl and the viceroy. The prince of Eckmühl and the viceroy marched upon this column, drove it from the road, and overthrew it in the wood, took a major General with a good number of prisoners, and carried off six pieces of cannon.

Since the bad weather, from the 6th to the 11th, the French lost more than three thousand carriages horses, and nearly one hundred caissons were destroyed.

The cold weather began on the 7th, from that moment the French lost every night several hundred horses, in consequence of bivouaking. Arrived at Smolensk, the French had already lost many cavalry and artillery horses.

The cold suddenly increased; and on the 14th, 15th, and 16th of November, the thermometer was at sixteen and eighteen degrees below the freezing point. The roads were covered with ice; the cavalry, artillery, and baggage horses, perished every night, not only by hundreds, but by thousands, particularly the German and French horses. In a few days, more than thirty thousand horses perished; the French cavalry were on foot, the artillery and baggage were without conveyance. It was necessary to abandon and destroy a good part of the cannon, ammunition, and provisions.

This army, so fine on the 6th, was very different on the 14th,—almost without cavalry, without artillery, without transports. "Without cavalry, (says the twenty ninth

The Ramparts of Smolensk destroyed.

French bulletin, dated December 3,) we could not reconnoitre a quarter of a league's distance ; without artillery, we could not risk a battle, and firmly await it : it was requisite to march, in order not to be constrained to a battle, which the want of ammunition prevented us from desiring ; it was requisite to occupy a certain space, not to be turned, and that too without cavalry, which led and connected the columns. This difficulty, joined to a cold which suddenly came on, rendered our situation miserable. Those men, whom nature had not sufficiently steeled to be above all the chances of fate and fortune, appeared shook, lost their gaiety, their good humour, and dreamed but of misfortunes and catastrophes ; those whom she has created superior to every thing, preserved their gaiety, and their ordinary manners, and saw fresh glory in the different difficulties to be surmounted.

“ The enemy, who saw upon the roads traces of that frightful calamity which had overtaken the French army, endeavoured to take advantage of it. He surrounded all the columns with his Cossacks, who carried off, like the Arabs of the desert, the trains and carriages which separated. This contemptible cavalry, which only make noise, and are not capable of penetrating through a company of voltigeurs, rendered themselves formidable by favour of circumstances. Nevertheless, the enemy had to repent of all the serious attempts which he wished to undertake : they were overthrown by the viceroy, before whom they were placed, and lost many men.

“ The duke of Elchingen, with three thousand men, had blown up the ramparts of Smolensk : he was surrounded, and found himself in a critical position, but he extricated himself from it with that intrepidity by which he is

The enemy retreat.

distinguished. After having kept the enemy at a distance from him during the whole of the 18th, and constantly repulsed him, at night he made a movement on the right, passed the Borysthenes, and deceived all the calculations of the enemy. On the 19th, the army passed the Barys-thenes at Orza; and the Russian army being fatigued, and having lost a great number of men, ceased from its attempts.

" The army of Volhynia had inclined, on the 16th, upon Minsk, and marched upon Borisow. General Dombrowski defended the bridge-head of Borisow with three thousand men. On the 23d, he was forced, and obliged to evacuate this position. The enemy then passed the Bere-sina, marching upon Bobr; the division Lambert formed the advanced guard.

" The second corps, commanded by the duke of Reggio, which was at Tancherein, had received orders to march upon Borisow, to secure to the army the passage of the Beresina. On the 24th, the duke of Reggio met the division Lambert, four leagues from Borisow, attacked and defeated it, took two thousand prisoners, six pieces of cannon, five hundred baggage waggons of the army of Volhynia, and threw the enemy on the right bank of the Beresina.

" On the 26th at break of day, the Emperor, after having deceived the enemy by different movements made during the day of the 25th, marched upon the village of Studzeanen, and causes, in spite of an enemy's division, and in its presence, two bridges to be thrown over the river. The duke of Reggio passed, attacked the enemy, and led him, fighting, two hours. The enemy retired upon the *tete-du-pont* of Borisow. General Legrand, an

Battle of Beresina.

officer of the first-rate merit, was badly, but not dangerously, wounded. During the whole of the 26th and 27th, the army passed.

" The duke of Belluno, commanding the ninth corps, had received orders to follow the movement of the duke of Reggio, to form the rear guard, and keep in check the Russian army from the Dwina, which followed him. Partonneaux's division formed the rear-guard of this corps.

" On the 27th, at noon, the duke of Belluno arrived with two divisions at the bridge of Studzeanea. Partonneaux's division set out at night for Borisow. A brigade of this division, which formed the rear-guard, and which was charged with burning the bridge, marched at seven in the evening, and arrived between ten and eleven o'clock; it sought its first brigade and its General, who had departed two hours before, and which it had not met with in its route. Its researches were in vain; some uneasiness was then conceived. All we have since been able to learn is, that the first brigade set out at five o'clock, missed its way at six, went to the right in place of proceeding to the left, and marched two or three leagues in this direction; that, during the night, and benumbed with cold, it sallied at seeing the enemy's fires, which it mistook for those of the French army. Thus surrounded, it was taken. This cruel mistake must have caused us a loss of two thousand infantry, three hundred cavalry, and three pieces of artillery.

" All the army having passed, on the morning of the 28th, the duke of Belluno guarded the tete-du-pont upon the left bank: the duke of Reggio, and behind him all the army, was upon the right bank. Borisow having been evacuated, the armies of the Dwina and Volhynia com-

Duke of Reggio wounded.

municated, they planned an attack on the 28th at break of day. The duke of Reggio caused the Emperor to be informed that he was attacked. Half an hour afterwards, the duke of Belluno was on the left bank. The duke of Elchingen immediately followed the duke of Reggio, and the duke of Treviso followed the duke of Elchingen. The battle became warm. The enemy wishing to turn our right, General Doumerc ordered a charge of cavalry at the moment when the legion of the Vistula was engaged in the woods, to pierce the centre of the enemy. The Russians were defeated and put to the rout, together with their cavalry, which came to the assistance of their infantry. Six thousand prisoners, two standards, and six pieces of cannon fell into our hands. On his side, the duke of Belluno vigorously charged the enemy, defeated him, took from five to six hundred prisoners, and did not suffer him to advance within reach of the cannon of the bridge. General Fournier made a fine charge of cavalry.

"In the battle of the Beresina, the army of Volhynia suffered much. The duke of Reggio was wounded, but his wound was not dangerous. He received a ball in his side.

"The next day (the 29th) we remained on the field of battle, we had to make our choice between two routes, that to Minsk, and that to Wilna. The road to Wilna led through a very fine country. The army being without cavalry, deficient in ammunition, and horribly fatigued by fifty days' march, carrying in its train all the sick and wounded of so many battles, stood greatly in need of getting to its magazines.

"On the 30th, the head quarters were at Plechnitit; on the 1st of December at Staske, and on the 2d, at

The king of Naples appointed Lieutenant-general.

Molodetichno, where the army received the first convoys from Wilna. All the wounded officers and soldiers, and whatever else could be of embarrassment, with the baggage, &c. were sent off to Wilna.

The generals, officers, and soldiers, suffered greatly from want. Numbers lost their baggage through the loss of their horses, and several by the effects of the cossacks' ambuses. The cossacks took numbers of isolated persons, of geographical engineers, who were taking positions and of wounded officers, who were marching without precaution, preferring running the risk to marching slowly and going with the convoy.

In all these movements the French emperor continually marched in the middle of his guards—the cavalry commanded by the duke of Istria, and the infantry commanded by the duke of Dantzig. The prince of Neufchatel, the grand marshal, the grand equerry, and all the aides-de-camp and military officers of the household, always accompanied his majesty. Our cavalry, say the French bulletins, was dismounted to such a degree, that it was necessary to collect the officers, who had still a horse remaining, in order to form four companies of one hundred and fifty men each. The generals there performed the functions of captains, and the colonels those of subalterns. This sacred squadron, commanded by general Grouchy, and under the orders of the king of Naples, did not lose sight of the emperor in all these movements.

On the 5th of December, the French emperor, having called together at his head quarters at Imorgonie, the viceroy, the prince of Neufchatel, and the marshals dukes of Elchingen, Dantzig, Treviso, the prince of Eckmuhl, the duke of Istria, acquainted them, that he had nominat-

Sufferings of the French from cold

ed the king of Naples his lieutenant-general, to command the army during the rigorous season. Napoleon, in passing through Wilna, was employed several hours with the duke of Bassaïro. He travelled incognito, in a single sledge, with and under the name of the duke of Vicenza. He examined the fortifications of Praga, surveyed Warsaw, and remained there several hours unknown. Two hours before his departure he sent for count Potocki, and the minister of finance of the grand duchy, with whom he had a long conference. He arrived on the 14th, at one o'clock in the morning, at Dresden, and on the 18th, at half after eleven o'clock at night, he arrived at Paris.

Thus have we laid before our readers as clear an account of the war in Russia as seemed consistent with truth, and at the close of it, which is taken from the twenty-ninth bulletin, a series of the greatest hardships, the severest privations, and the most dreadful sufferings, that were experienced by the French army. Various reports of the death or insanity of the French emperor had been circulated, but the arrival of this bulletin put a final stop to the absurd speculations which had been formed upon those suppositions. He arrived safely at Paris, in good health, and immediately proceeded to business. The wretched remains of his army he quitted at Smorgonie, a town about fifty miles from Wilna, but it does not appear that he left it before it had reached a place of comparative safety. So intense indeed was the cold which destroyed the French army, that at Copenhagen, on the 19th of December, Reaumur's thermometer was 13 degrees below Zero, and at Wilna it was 25 degrees below the same point. From the custom house at Copenhagen to the coast of Sweden, the Sound presented one continued surface of ice, and it was said, that if the frost had continued

General D'Yorck charged with Treason.

but a few days longer, it would have been passable on foot. Some of the Danish ships, which were detained by the ice, had sent home their crews to the different provinces to which they belonged. Thus it is evident, that it was not the effects of the Russian prowess, but the intense cold, that overcame the French army.

Two large divisions of Prussian troops, amounting to thirty thousand men, and forming the whole of the 10th corps of the Grand Army, capitulated to the Russian general De Diebitsch. Nothing so clearly shews the weakness to which the French army was reduced, as a circumstance attendant on this capitulation. General D'Yorck, who commanded the Prussians, being at Tawroggen, about twenty-five miles from Tilsit, on the 30th of December, entered into a convention with the above general, positively on behalf of his own troops, and conditionally on behalf of those under general Massenbach, which latter were at the moment with the French general Macdonald. D'Yorck immediately sent notice of the step he had taken to general Massenbach, who, notwithstanding the threats and remonstrances of Macdonald, actually marched away from him with his whole division, which the French general was not strong enough to hinder.

The king of Prussia received intelligence of the treason of general D'Yorck on the 14th of January 1813, and immediately ordered, that "all means should be taken to seize the said general, and send him to Berlin, where he should be tried and punished for his crime." M. de Nantzmez, aid-de-camp to the king, set out on the morning of the 5th for Konigsberg, charged with a letter, by which his majesty, after having declared that he could not ratify the convention concluded by general D'Yorck, con-

The Russians advance.

sidering, that the dispositions to be taken with respect to his troops, belong, according to the treaty of alliance, to his majesty the emperor of the French, and afterwards to the king of Naples, as his lieutenant general, invites this prince to give his orders to general Kleist, and to express them to major de Nantzmer, who will make known to the Prussian corps the wishes of their sovereign.

Toward the close of January, general Rapp, a brave and intrepid soldier, was governor of Dantzig, where he had a garrison of thirty thousand good troops; and the place was said to be provisioned for two years. Dantzig was blockaded by the Russians, who had advanced to the Vistula in great force. Time after time this fortress was said to have surrendered to the Russian forces; but although it had been besieged as it were by the Russian and Prussian soldiery ever since the middle of February, and they had lost many men before its walls, it was still in the hands of the French in the middle of June, the Russians, however, got possession of Konigsberg, Elbing, Marienberg, and Marienwurder.

The Russian army kept advancing and made their entrance into Warsaw; after which they marched towards the Oder, for the purpose of engaging with, and dispersing such French troops as might have been collected in and about Posen. An action of some importance there took place, in which the Russians, from the amazing disparity of the French army, were victorious; and on the 20th of February, two days after the battle, they occupied Berlin, with nineteen thousand men. They then proceeded to Hamburg, which they entered on the 28th.

There does not appear to have been any French force capable of disputing the field with them.

Battle between generals Dormberg and Morand.

The king of Prussia having left Berlin and proceeded to Potzdam, and his capital being in possession of the Russians, determined him at length to veer about once more, and to enter into an alliance offensive and defensive with the emperor Alexander.

Although the French forces were not in sufficient strength to oppose the numerous hordes of Russians with their Prussian auxiliaries, yet the genius of the French emperor was on the alert. By the beginning of April he had an army of nearly one hundred and fifty thousand men in the field ; but the Russians, who found little to oppose them advanced to the Elbe, which they crossed. By this time, however, the principal line of assemblage of the French forces was from Mayence to Bamberg, following the serpentine course of the Mayne : thus the troops under the duke of Treviso were at Frankfort, with Sebastiani and Lefevre ; Souham at Aschaffenberg ; the prince of Moskwa had his head quarters at Hanau ; the Bavarian general Wrede was at Bamberg ; and Hesse and Baden were uniting in the vicinity of Wurtzburg.

The Russians who had crossed the Elbe under generals Dormberg and Tschermcheff advanced against general Morand at Luneberg, where he was with only three thousand five hundred French forces. A very obstinate battle took place between the French and Russians, which was completely in favour of the latter, the whole body of the French being killed, wounded, or taken ; but it should be recollected, that the Russian force was three times greater than the French. They, however, enjoyed their conquest but a short time ; for the French sent ten thousand men to retake the town, which they did, and put the Russians to flight.

The Russians anxious for a battle.

The Russians and Prussians advanced upon, and took possession of Dresden, the capital of the king of Saxony, who was persuaded to enter into a league against France; but these successes of the Russians at length roused the active Napoleon, and he set out from Paris on the night of the 15th of April, to put himself at the head of his forces in the neighbourhood of Magdeburgh; and although greatly inferior in point of numerical strength to the Allies, he had ordered reinforcements to be continually sent to join his main army.

Affairs at the close of April, began to wear rather a gloomy aspect at Hamburg. The French, who drove the Russians out of Luneburg, marched into Hamburg on the 29th; but the Russians and the detachments of the Hanseatic legion had provisionally recrossed the Elbe, deeming themselves not in sufficient force to meet the French. Thorn and Spandau, however, surrendered to the Allies. The emperor Alexander and the king of Prussia had also marched upon, and took possession of Dresden, the capital of the king of Saxony, as above mentioned, who had withdrawn to Prague.

Napoleon by this time, had joined his army, and a partial battle took place on the 1st of May at Weissensels, in which marshal Bessieres, duke of Istria, was killed, and the French advanced upon Lutzen. The emperor Alexander and the king of Prussia, learning that the French army had debouched from Thuringia, adopted the plan of giving battle in the plains of Lutzen, and put themselves in motion to occupy that position; but they were anticipated by the rapidity of the movements of the French army: they, however, persisted in their projects, and resolved to drive the French army from the position

Retreat of the Allies.

it had taken. The Allies debouched and passed the Elster at the bridges of Zwenkaw, Pegau, and Zeits. At nine in the morning on the 3rd of May, Napoleon heard a canonade from the side nearest Leipsig. The allies defended the small village of Tastenau, and the bridges in advance of Leipsig. The French emperor now waited the moment when these last positions should be carried, to put in motion all his army in that direction, make it pivot on Leipsig, pass to the right bank of the Elster, and take the Allies *a revers*; but at ten o'clock the Allies debouched towards Kara, upon several columns extremely deep: their numbers appeared immense.

The battle now became brisk. The Allies, who appeared certain of success, marched to reach the right of the French, and gain the road of Weissenfels; but in this they were disappointed, and the field of battle was soon covered with the best of the enemy's cavalry. The great efforts of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, were directed against the centre. The village of Kara was taken and retaken several times. The battle embraced a line of two leagues, covered with fire, smoke, and clouds of dust.

The Allies having bent their principal force upon the French centre, it gave way; but general Drouet with a battery of eighty pieces of artillery opened a dreadful fire upon the Allies: they now gave way on all sides. The duke of Treviso obtained possession of the village of Kara, overthrew the Allies, and continued to advance, beating the charge. The cavalry, infantry, and artillery of the Allies now retreated on all sides; which being followed by the French, they fled and were pursued for a league and a half. The French soon arrived at the heights which had been occupied by the emperor Alexander, the

Bonaparte arrives at Bautzen.

king of Prussia, and the Brandenburgh family during the battle. The French made several thousand prisoners, notwithstanding the inferiority of their numbers. The loss of the French, in killed and wounded, amounted to ten thousand men; that of the Allies, who were greatly superior in numerical strength, was estimated at upwards of twenty thousand. The prince of Hesse Homberg was killed, the young prince-royal of Prussia was wounded, and the prince of Mecklenberg-Strelitz, nephew to the queen of England, was killed. The Allied army amounted from between one hundred and fifty to two hundred thousand men, while that of the French did not exceed one hundred and thirty thousand, and most of these new-raised forces.

In consequence of the battle of Lutzen, the French advanced about eighty miles, though the Prussian account intimates that the Allies remained masters of the field of battle.

The French emperor entered Dresden on the 8th of May. As the French advanced after the battle of Lutzen, several affairs of minor importance took place. The king of Saxony, who had been obliged to leave his capital when the Russian and Prussian combined army advanced upon it, returned to it at mid-day on the 12th, when the French emperor and he embraced each other. So far therefore, from joining the Allies, as it was fondly expected, and positively asserted, the king of Saxony, after his conference with the emperor of Austria at Prague, surrendered his fortresses to the French, and joined Napoleon with the whole of his forces.

On the 18th Bonaparte left Dresden, and arrived before Bautzen on the 19th, at ten in the morning, after

The Allies defeated.

which he employed the remainder of the day in reconnoitring the position of the allies. At noon, on the 20th, a brisk canonade commenced in the neighbourhood of Bautzen, which lasted six hours; during which, several charges were made by the allies without success: for general Compans took possession of Bautzen; and general Bonnet, by a running charge, took possession of a plain which rendered him master of the whole of the centre of the allied forces, and at seven in the evening they were driven back on their second position. The French emperor entered Bautzen at eight in the evening. The battle of Bautzen was the prelude to the battle of Wurtchen.

On the 21st, the French emperor marched towards the heights, three quarters of a league in advance of Bautzen, at five o'clock in the morning. At eleven the duke of Treviso advanced one thousand toises from his position, and engaged in a dreadful canonade before all the redoubts and entrenchments of the allies, and by the manœuvres of the French they were kept in a state of uncertainty respecting the real point of attack. At length the allies, finding that the French had succeeded in turning their right, began to retreat, and this retreat soon became a flight: and at seven in the evening, the prince of Moskwa and general Lauriston arrived at Wurtchen. The allies being now forced from all their positions, left the French masters of the field of battle, who found it covered with the dead and wounded, and took several thousand prisoners.

On the 22nd, at four in the morning, the French army was again in motion. The allies had continued their flight during the whole of the night, by all the roads, and in every direction. The French did not find their first posts

Hamburg surrenders.

till they had passed Weissemberg; nor did they offer the least resistance, until they had gained the heights in the rear of Reickenbach. General Lefebure Desnouettes, at the head of one thousand five hundred horse of the Polish lancers, and the red lancers of the guards, charged and overthrew the Russian cavalry in the plain of Rettenbach. In the battles of the 20th and 21st the French estimated their loss at eleven or twelve thousand men in killed and wounded. On the 22nd, the duke of Treviso was wounded, general Kirgener was killed, and the duke of Trioul (Daroc) was mortally wounded, and died twelve hours afterwards. On the 23rd, general Reynier entered Goerlitz. The allies burnt a great quantity of their baggage, blew up a number of parks, and distributed through the villages great quantities of wounded, ten thousand of whom remained in the power of the French.

On the 29th of May there was a severe engagement at Ochsenwarder: the Hanseatic legion, Prussians, and English riflemen, made a strong resistance against the enemy; but owing to a blunder of captain Muller, who took a party of the French, they being commanded in English, to be English, one thousand five hundred men took possession of Ochsenwarder. General Tettenborn informed the senate, that he had no longer the means of defence, and left it entirely with the senate to adopt such measures as they thought proper; after which he left the place, and at mid-day on the 30th, the Danes, five thousand strong, with a park of artillery entered Hamburg, having the French general Bruyere, at their head; at seven in the evening one thousand five hundred French *gens d'armes* entered the town.*

* The conduct of the crown prince of Sweden (Bernadotte) on this occasion appears to have something mystical in

Treaty with Sweden.

On the 1st of June, an armistice having been previously proposed, the duke of Vicenza, on the part of the French and the Russian and Prussian plenipotentiaries, count Schouvaloff and general Kleist, exchanged their full powers, and neutralized the village of Piecherwitz. Forty infantry and twenty cavalry, furnished by the French army, and the same number of men furnished by the allied army, respectively occupied the two entrances of the village.

it. He entered Germany at the head of about twenty-four thousand men, and eighty pieces of artillery, but when applied to by the senate of Hamburg, he replied, "That Hamburg was at present but a minor object, compared with his ulterior movements, and that the fate of that city must be decided by the issue of the contest for the general deliverance." Thus Bernadotte constantly appeared in the way to do something; but took care always to avoid coming into action; indeed it could not be expected that he would become the enemy of his old master Bonaparte. Sweden, however, was paid by England, and the crown prince must appear to do something. The treaty which the English ministers entered into with Sweden, was at length reluctantly laid before the house of lords on the 10th of June, and the next day before the house of commons. The substance of this treaty is, "That the English pay One Million of Pounds sterling per annum, as a subsidy; that Great Britain shall cede the island of Guadaloupe to the Swedes: and the English shall assist the crown prince in his views on Norway with a sufficient naval force. Guadaloupe to be delivered to the crown prince three months after the Swedes make good their landing in Germany." Now Bernadotte did land with a powerful army on the shores of Germany, but had hitherto remained inactive; the English, however, were bound by treaty to give up the island in August to the Swedes!

Wellington's success in Spain

On the 2nd, in the morning, the plenipotentiaries had a conference to fix the line which, during the armistice, should determine the position of the two armies. In the mean time, orders were given from the head quarters of both armies, that no hostilities should take place. The armistice was signed on the fourth, and it was agreed that hostilities should cease till the 8th of July inclusive, and that they should not re-commence without giving six days notice to that effect. By this armistice the French were to remain in possession of every thing which it occupied on the 8th of June at midnight.

CHAPTER XIV

WE must now advert to the war in the Peninsula, and the first thing we have to lay before our readers is, an account of the decisive victory by lord Wellington over the French forces, on the 21st of June, 1813, near Vittoria, this was a day which will live for ages in the annals of the British empire, and gladden the heart of every Briton.

The dispatches from the marquis Wellington, (which were received at the war office on the 3rd of July) are dated Salvatierra, June 23, and Trienyeen, June 24, 1813, say, The enemy's army, commanded by Joseph Bonaparte, having marshal Jourdan as the major general of the army took up a position on the night of the 19th instant, in front of Vittoria, the left of which rested upon the heights

The Allies victorious over the French.

which end at Puebla de Arlanzon, and extended from thence across the valley of Zadora, in front of the village Arunez. They occupied with the right of the centre a height which commanded the valley of Zadora, and the right of their army was stationed near Vittoria, and was destined to defend the passages of the river Zadora, in the neighbourhood of that city. They had a reserve in the rear of their left, at the village of Gomecha.

The nature of the country through which the army had passed since it reached the Ebro, had necessarily extended our columns, and we halted, says lord Wellington, on the 20th, in order to close them up, and moved the left to Margina, where it was most likely it would be necessary. His lordship reconnoitred the enemy's position on that day, with a view to the attack to be made on the following morning, if they should still remain in it.

The allies accordingly attacked the enemy on the 21st of June, and gained a complete victory over them, driving them from all their positions, and taking from them one hundred and fifty-one pieces of cannon, four hundred and fifteen waggons of ammunition, all their baggage, provisions, cattle, treasure, &c. and a considerable number of prisoners. The operations of the day commenced by lieutenant-general sir Rowland Hill obtaining possession of the heights of La Puebla, on which the enemy's left rested; which heights they had not occupied in great strength. The contest here, however, was very severe, and the loss sustained considerable. General Murillo was wounded, but remained in the field; and the honourable lieutenant-colonel Cadogan died of a wound he received.

Under cover of the possession of these heights, sir Rowland Hill successively passed the Zadora, at La Puebla, and the defile formed by the heights of the river Zadora,

and attacked and gained possession of the village of Sahijana de Alava, in front of the enemy's line, which he made repeated attempts to regain.

The centre of the allied army was formed by four divisions, which were destined to attack the heights on which the right of the enemy's centre was placed, while lieutenant-general sir Rowland Hill should move forward from Sahijana de Alava to attack the left. The enemy, however, having weakened his line to strengthen his detachments in the hills, abandoned his position in the valley as soon as he saw our disposition to attack it, and commenced his retreat in good order towards Vittoria; and the allied troops continued to advance notwithstanding the difficulty of the ground.

In the mean time lieutenant-general sir Thomas Graham, who commanded the left of the army, consisting of the first and fifth divisions, and generals Pack and Bradford's brigades of infantry, and generals Bock and Anson's brigades of cavalry, moved forward on Vittoria, by the high road from that town to Bilboa. He had besides with him the Spanish division under colonel Longa, and general Giron, who had been detached to the left under a different view of the state of affairs, and had afterwards arrived on the 20th at Orduna, marched that morning from thence, so as to be in the field in readiness to support lieutenant-general sir T. Graham, if his support had been required.

The enemy had a division of infantry and some cavalry advanced on the great road from Vittoria to Bilboa, resting their right on some strong heights covering the village of Gamarra Major and Abechuco were strongly occupied as têtes-du-pont to the bridges over the Zadora at these places. Brigadier-general Pack, with his Portuguese bri-

The enemy defeated.

gade, and general Longa, with the Spanish division, were directed to turn and gain the heights, supported by major-general Anson's brigade of light dragoons, and the fifth division of infantry, under the command of major-general Oswald, who was desired to take the command of all these troops.

As soon as the heights were in our possession, the village of Gamarra Major was most gallantly stormed and carried by brigadier-general Robinson's brigade of the fifth division. The enemy suffered severely, and lost three pieces of cannon. At length the enemy retreated, and the whole of the allied army co-operated in the pursuit, which was continued by all till after it was dark.

The enemy turned to the road towards Pampeluna, but were unable to hold any position for a sufficient length of time to allow their baggage to be drawn off. The whole, therefore, of the latter, which had not already been taken by the troops in their attack of the successive positions taken up by the enemy in their retreat from their first position on Arunz and on the Zadora, and all their ammunition and baggage, and every thing they had were taken close to Vittoria.

The army under Joseph Bonaparte consisted of the whole of the armies of the South and of the centre, and of four divisions, and all the cavalry of the army of Portugal, and some troops of the army of the North. General Foix's division of the army of Portugal was in the neighbourhood of Bilboa, and general Clausel, who commands the army of the North was near Logrono with one division of the army of Portugal, commanded by General Topin, and General Vandermassen's division of the army of the North.

The killed and wounded on both sides were immense.

Total defeat of the French

that of the allies is stated at seven hundred and forty officers and men, and ninety-three horses killed, and four thousand one hundred and seventy officers and men, and sixty-eight horses wounded. The loss on the part of the French could not be ascertained.

Amid the crowd of French fugitives king Joseph had a very narrow escape. He was soon recognized, and closely pursued by a detachment of cavalry led by the marquis of Worcester. Captain Wyndham, who was in the pursuit, fired two pistol shots at the carriage in which Joseph was seated, but the latter having succeeded in passing a mill dam, where the French had contrived to obstruct the pursuit, he mounted his horse, and escaped at full gallop, leaving all his personal effects behind him, so much, indeed, were the French concerned for their personal safety, that even General Jourdan escaped with the loss of his marshal's baton, which captain Freemantle, who brought the marquis of Wellington's dispatches, was directed to present to the Prince Regent in London.

It appears, that if the French had made any attempt to save their baggage, ammunition, &c. their whole army would probably have been taken prisoners. They therefore wisely abandoned every thing which might impede their progress, and this may account for their loss in killed and prisoners not bearing a due proportion to the magnitude of their defeat.

By field-marshall the marquis of Wellington's despatch, dated Ostiz, July 3, 1813, it appears that General Mina was still following the enemy, and had taken from him two pieces of cannon, and some stores in Tudela, with three hundred prisoners. Lieutenant-General Clinton also took possession of five guns, which the enemy left at Logrono. In the mean time the troops under the com-

Advance of the enemy.

mand of lieutenant-general Sir Rowland Hill kept the blockade of Pampeluna, and moved through the mountains to the head of the Bidassoa, the enemy having retired into France on that side.

On the 24th and 25th of June, lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Graham had actions with the enemy's forces, of which he gave an account in a letter to field-marshall the marquis of Wellington, dated from Tolosa, June 25. Sir Thomas Graham says, it was so late on the 23rd, when he received orders to march by the Priets S' Adrian to Villa Franca, and the weather and the road were so extremely bad, that but a small part of the column could get over the mountain that day; and it was not till late on the 24th, that he could move from Segura on Villa Franca, with major-general Anson's brigade of light dragoons, the light battalions of the king's German legion, and the two Portuguese brigades, the rest of the troops not being yet come up. The rear of the enemy's column was then just passing on the great road from Villa Real to Villa Franca, and he occupied in considerable force some very strong ground on the right of the great road, and of the river Oria, in front of the village of Olaverria, and about a mile and a half from Villa Franca.

Major-general Bradford's brigade marched by Olaverria, and was employed to dislodge the enemy on the right, while the remainder of the troops advanced by the chaussee, defended by the enemy's tirailleurs on the heights, and a strong body at the village of Veassayn.

As the enemy reinforced the troops on the left, it became necessary to push on by the chaussee, which was done by the light battalion under colonel Halkett, assisted and flanked by some companies of major-general Pack's Portuguese brigade; and these brave

A general attack.

troops drove the enemy from the village of Veassayn. The enemy having troops ready, posted on the succession of strong heights on each side of the deep valley; at the bottom of which the road runs, a considerable time became necessary to turn his flanks, during which he evacuated Villa Franca, without further dispute.

The Portuguese troops on the right and left of the valley pushed on their advance to Ychasurido, and the troops assembled at Villa Franca. Here likewise the head of general Giron's corps, and all colonel Longa's, arrived in the course of the evening.

The next morning (the 25th) the enemy evacuated Calequia; and as he had taken up a very strong position between that and Tolosa, covering the Pampeluna road, the Spanish corps of colonel Longa was marched by Alzo towards Lizarga, to turn his left; while lieutenant-general Mendizabel was requested to dispatch some battalions from Aspeyha to turn his right, appeared on a high mountain, with an inaccessible ravine in front.

The French were driven from the summit of an important hill, lying between the Pampeluna and Vittoria roads, by a very skilful attack of lieutenant-colonel Williams, with two companies of the grenadiers of the 1st regiment, and three of the 4th caçadores belonging to general Pack's brigade. This hill was immediately occupied by major-general Bradford's brigade, supported by the three line battalions of the King's German legion. The rest of the day was chiefly spent in skirmishing with the enemy's tirailleurs, to give time for the Spanish corps arriving at the destination.

A general attack began between six and seven in the evening. Two guns of captain Ramsay's troop, and two nine-pounders of captain Dubourdieu's, under an escort

Defeat of the French.

of captain Childer's troop of the 16th light dragoons, and of the advance of colonel Halkett's light battalion, were brought rapidly forward on the chaussee, and fired with effect against several bodies of the enemy in the plain near the town; while the column, consisting of the German light battalions, the brigade of guards, and a Spanish division of general Giron's, continued to advance by the chaussee. Two Spanish battalions, and one Portuguese, forming a separate column on the left of the chaussee, passed quickly on the left of the town. General Bradford and the line battalions of the Germans driving in the enemy on their front, by the Pampeluna road, and colonel Longa from the side of the mountains still more on the right, turning and forcing, from very strong positions, all the posted bodies of the enemy on the right of the town.

Still the French kept possession of the town, which was much more capable of defence than had been represented. The Vittoria gate was barricadoed, and also the Pampeluna gate on the bridge; and both were flanked by convents and other large buildings occupied by the enemy, but the town was open in one part. A nine-pounder was therefore brought up under cover of the fire of the light battalion, close to the gate, which was burst open. By this time it had become dark, and it was impossible to distinguish the troops of the different nations engaged, which gave the enemy, who were flying from every point, an opportunity of escaping with much less loss than he would have suffered, had there been day-light. Besides the defences of the gates, this place had new towers to flank the exterior wall, and a strong wood block-house in the square, which evidently shews the importance the enemy attached to its occupation,

Capitulation of Miranda.

It would be unjust, says sir Thomas Graham, to the troops employed in this assault, not to mention their exemplary conduct when in possession; there was no excess committed. The German legion and colonel Longa's corps passed on, and formed immediately beyond the town.

"The enemy," says the marquis of Wellington, "on seeing some of our ships off Deba, evacuated the town and fort of Guitaria on the 1st instant, and the garrison went, by sea, to St. Sebastian. This place is blockaded by a detachment of Spanish troops. They have likewise evacuated Castro, and the garrison have gone by sea to Santona.

"In my former reports," continues the marquis, "I have made your lordship (earl Bathurst) acquainted with the progress of the army of reserve of Andalusia, under general the Conde de Abisbal, to join the army, and he arrived at Burgos on the 25th and 26th ultimo, (June.)"

"When the enemy retired across the *Ebro*, previous to the battle of Vittoria, they left a garrison of about seven hundred men in the castle of Pancorbo, by which they commanded and rendered it impossible for us to use the great communication from Vittoria to Burgos; I, therefore, requested the Conde de Abisbal, on his march to Miranda, to make himself master of the town and lower works, and to blockade the place as closely as he could." The Conde de Abisbal carried the town and lower fort by assault on the 28th, and the garrison surrendered by capitulation. The decision and dispatch with which this place has been subdued, says the noble marquis, are highly creditable to the Conde de Abisbal, and the officers and troops under his command.

A dreadful explosion.

The following is an extract of a letter from captain sir George Collier to admiral lord Keith, dated from on board the *Surveillante*, off *Guitaria*, July 1, 1813, relative to the taking of that place :—

" I have the honour to report, that *Guitaria* was evacuated by the enemy this morning (July 1,) at day-break, and soon afterwards occupied by a garrison under baron de Meuglana. The enemy appears to have been so pressed by the appearance of the shipping, after his determination had been taken, that most of the cannon were left serviceable, and all his provisions, calculated for some months; but it is with regret I mention, that about three o'clock P. M. we witnessed a most aweful explosion; which, by a refinement in cruelty, appears to have been intended to destroy all the poorer inhabitants at a blow. The magazine, containing nearly two hundred barrels of gunpowder, and dug in the solid rock connected with the mole, where the fishing-boats lay, had been prepared, and a lighted match left with it; two casks of wine previously broached were also left by the wall, offering a temptation to the lower orders of the inhabitants; but this circumstance most providentially proved their great preservation. The Spanish commandant, on entering, observed the confusion likely to ensue, ordered the inhabitants from the mole into the town, and while means were taken to force the door, the explosion took place, and destroyed about twenty of the garrison and fishermen, as well as all the boats in or near the mole.

" I have the pleasure to acquaint your lordship, that the castle, town, and port of *Passages*, were recovered yesterday from the enemy, and its garrison of one hundred and thirty-six men, cut off from *St. Sebastian*, were taken

Siege of Tarragona raised

by a part of the Spanish brigade of Longa, under the immediate order of Don Gaspar, attached to sir Thomas Graham's division. The Spanish loss on this occasion was very trifling.'

It now becomes our province to relate a circumstance of a different nature, namely, the raising of the siege of Tarragona by sir John Murray, and the marquis of Wellington, in his dispatch, dated July 3, says, "I am concerned to inform your lordship, (earl Bathurst,) that lieutenant general sir John Murray raised the siege of Tarragona, I cannot say on what day, and embarked his troops. A great proportion of the artillery and stores were left in the batteries. It appeared, that marshal Suchet, with a considerable body of troops, had arrived from Valencia by Tortosa, and general Maurice Mathieu, with another corps, from the neighbourhood of Barcelona, for the purpose of impeding sir John Murray's operations, which he did not think himself sufficiently strong to continue. I have not yet received from sir John Murray the detailed account of these transactions, lieutenant general lord William Bentinck, however, who had joined and had taken the command of the army at the Col de Balaguer, on the 17th (of June,) had brought it back to Alicant, where he arrived himself on the 23rd, and was proceeding to carry into execution my instructions — When marshal Suchet marched into Catalonia, the duke del Parque had advanced, and established his head quarters at San Ildefonso de Xativa, and his troops on the Xucar, where he still was on the 21st.

Although the marquis of Wellington had not received any intelligence from sir John Murray at the time of writing

Sir John Murray's retreat.

ng the above, yet his lordship did receive a letter from him on the same day, of which the following is a copy:—

His Majesty's Ship Malta, June 14, 1813.

“ **MY LORD,**

“ Admiral Hallowell has just decided on sending a ship to Alzant, and I have merely time to state to your lordship, and I do it with regret, that I have been under the necessity of raising the siege of Tarragona, and embarking the army under my command. In my private letter of the 7th instant, I mentioned to your lordship, the reports of the assemblage of the French forces at Barcelona, and that marshal Suchet was likewise in march from Valencia: and stated it as my opinion, that should these reports be confirmed, the object your lordship had in view could not be accomplished. Unfortunately these rumours proved true, and reluctantly I resolved upon raising the siege and embarking the army, as the only means of avoiding a general action, which must have been fought under every disadvantage. I cannot at this moment refer to dates, but it is sufficient for the present to state, that the French force at Barcelona was never rated to me at less than eight thousand, and that previous to their march it would amount to ten thousand, with fourteen pieces of artillery. I have, however, no account that it ever exceeded eight, and that is the number on which my calculation was formed. This force upon the evening of the 9th, or morning of the 10th, marched out from Barcelona, and entered Villa Franca, at four o'clock in the evening of the 11th, from whence it was reported to me to march at twelve o'clock at night for Vendrells, distant only eighteen or twenty miles from Tarragona by the great road, and a few miles further by another road, by which cannon can easily

Retreat of the Spaniards

pass. On the 9th or 10th the arrival of marshal Suchet at Valencia was made known to me, his exact force was perfectly ascertained, but from the intelligence received from Valencia, he marched from thence with nine thousand men, and certainly in the rear of that place had the power of drawing great reinforcements to his army.

" To these corps must be added, a body of one thousand men, which had previously arrived at Tortosa; and another corps, independent of the garrison, of two thousand five hundred men, who had arrived at Lerida. These corps, which I am sure I do not exaggerate, amount to twenty thousand five hundred men, with which, in four or five days, marshal Suchet could attack the allied army, if he thought proper; or avoid an action, if he wished still more to reinforce his army. Your lordship, on the other hand, will observe, that I could scarcely bring in the field twelve thousand men, and that the army of Catalonia was stated to me at eight thousand five hundred, making twenty thousand five hundred, of which two British and two Spanish divisions were at the Col de Balaguer, and could not be withdrawn: and I could not leave less than two thousand five hundred to cover the artillery and stores, and to contain the garrison of Tarragona. The two corps, at least, would amount to upwards of four thousand five hundred men, leaving me sixteen thousand men to meet the best French troops in Spain, amounting to upwards of twenty thousand men.

" I am sure there is nobody more willing to give full credit to the gallantry of the Spanish troops than I am, but your lordship well knows that they are unable to move, and I could not therefore depend upon the execution of any order which necessarily obliged them to make a movement, and of troops of this description I had at our

Siege of Tarragona raised.

thirteen thousand men: unless, therefore, I could place them in position, which, as the French had the option of fighting when and where they pleased, it was impossible I could place any reliance upon them.---My British and German troops amounted only to four thousand five hundred. Perhaps your lordship may be of opinion, that under these circumstances, I ought to have risked an action had no other unsavourable objections existed; but when your lordship is informed, that I had no possibility of retreat, if unsuccessful,---that there would have been no hopes of embarkation, if followed,---and that the army must have been unavoidably lost, if beat,---I venture to hope that your lordship will think, however much it is to be regretted, that I have adopted the only means of maintaining entire, or indeed of saving, an army on which so much depends. I feel the greater confidence in this hope, on reverting to the thirteenth paragraph of your lordship's general instructions for the conduct of the campaign.

“ I am fully aware there are many circumstances which may require further information, and upon all parts I shall be happy to give every explanation in my power. Your lordship perhaps may be of opinion, that the place should have been taken; but it was far too strong to storm: I believe it not only to have been impossible, but that we should not have taken it in eight or ten days: my only regret is, that I continued the siege so long. Induced by the hopes of the reinforcements I expected, I continued it to the last moment, and fortunately the weather proving favourable, the troops were embarked without molestation. On this favourable circumstance I could not depend for another day, and therefore, having taken my post, I immediately put it in execution, and I regret to say, that I was, in consequence, obliged to leave the guns in

Siege of Tarragona raised.

the most advanced batteries. Had I remained another day, they might have been brought off; but this risk I would not run, when the existence of the army was at stake, not only from unfavourable weather, but from the appearance of an enemy, in whose presence I could not have embarked perhaps at all, certainly not without suffering a great loss, and without the possibility of deriving any advantage.

" I have only further at this time to add, should blame be attached to the failure of the expedition, no share of it can fall on admiral Hallowell, who conducted the naval branch of it. From that distinguished officer I have met with every assistance and co-operation in his power: and I think it only justice to him to state, that it was his opinion that the cannon in the batteries might have been saved by remaining till the night, and that they then could have been brought off. This, however, was a risk I did not wish to run for so trifling an object, and preferred losing them to the chance of the embarkation being opposed, and of an eventual much more serious loss.

" I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) " J. MURRAY, Lieut. Gen."

To the Marquis of WELLINGTON, K. G. &c.

As lieutenant-general sir John Murray's conduct before Tarragona excited considerable interest in the minds of the public, and became investigated by a court-martial, we deem it necessary to insert captain Adam's letter relative to the naval operations, especially as sir John himself says, that no share of blame could fall on admiral Hallowell, who conducted the naval department of it.

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Siege of Tarragona raised.

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Siege of Col de Balaguer

Copy of a Letter from Captain Adam, of his Majesty's Ship the Invincible, transmitted by Rear Admiral Hallowell to J. W. Croker, Esq.

" His Majesty's Ship Invincible, off the

" Sir, Col de Balaguer, June 8, 1813.

" In pursuance of your directions to take the ships and vessels, named in the margin,* under my orders, and co-operate with lieutenant-colonel Prevost in the siege of the fort of Col de Balaguer, I have the honour to inform you, that the troops were landed about noon of the 3d instant, and the lieutenant-colonel immediately invested the fort, the riflemen of De Roll's regiment, and other light troops, being pushed close up to the walls.

" The fort is situated in a most difficult pass, through which the high road from Tortosa to Tarragona winds, and it is absolutely the key of the only road for cannon into this province, from the westward, without going round by Lérida. It is armed with twelve pieces of ordnance, including two ten-inch mortars, and two howitzers; and the surrounding heights are so difficult of access, that it has been a work of the greatest labour to establish the necessary batteries before it.

" Two six-pounder field-pieces and a howitzer were landed on the evening of the 3d instant, dragged up, and placed on the ridge of a steep and rugged mountain, to the S. E. of the fort; two twelve-pounders were added to the former by noon of the next day. The whole remained under the command of lieutenant Corbyn, first of the Invincible, having under his orders a detachment of midshipmen and seamen from this ship, and a most excellent fir-

* Thames, Volcano, Strombolo, Brune, and eight gun-boats.

Preparations for the Siege.

ing was kept up from them, which considerably damaged the defences of the fort, and checked its fire upon our working parties.

" In the mean time three Spanish twenty-four pounders were landed, and two more guns, of the same calibre, from this ship, to be got up by the high road to the foot of a very steep height, on the crest of which the breaching-battery was to be constructed, at about five hundred yards from the eastern face of the fort.

" In the afternoon of the 4th instant the fort was summoned to surrender; and the commander answered, that he should defend the place committed to his charge.

" During the night of the 4th, every exertion was used to bring the guns up the hill, and to complete the breaching-battery; but as it could be completed by day-light, the men were withdrawn.

" The seamen and marines were landed early in the afternoon of the 5th, and carried up the stores for the battery, under a brisk fire of shot and shells from the fort."

" The three Spanish twenty-four pounders, notwithstanding their immense size and weight, were conveyed up to the side of the hill, over the most rugged ground, by the united exertions of the soldiers, seamen, and marines, under the immediate directions of captain Carroll, of the *Volcano*. The two eight-inch mortars were brought as far along the road as was practicable before dark; and the iron twenty-four pounders were conveyed to the foot of the hill as soon as it was dark.

" The work of the battery advanced rapidly, although it was necessary to fill all the sand-bags at the bottom of the hill, and I was in confident expectation that the battery would be open soon after day-light; but by ten

Col de Balaguer surrenders.

o'clock the rain fell in torrents, attended by the most violent thunder and lightning I almost ever witnessed.

" The quantity of ammunition which had been brought up for the battery, being in an exposed situation, made it the more aweful, and the enemy kept up an incessant fire of shells and grape-shot.

" In defiance of all these obstacles, two of the guns were got high enough to mount on the platforms, but all our exertion was unequal to place them there, owing to the violence of the rain, and the excessive difficulty of working in the extreme darkness of the night. From the same reason too, the mortars could not be brought forward, and after a night of the most excessive labour, we had the mortification of being again obliged to retire; the officers and men being quite worn out.

" The weather continued very bad until the afternoon of the 6th instant, when a party was landed, and the mortars were got forward; before day-light the seamen and marines were on the pile, and all the guns were placed on the battery ready for mounting. The two mortars opened soon after day-light, and the shells were thrown with great precision, by lieutenant James, of the royal marine artillery, landed from the Strombolo, who worked the mortars with his party; and the fire from lieutenant Corbyn's battery was resumed with excellent effect. This united force made very considerable impression on the fort; an expensive magazine was blown up, and the enemy's fire was very much slackened.

" At seven o'clock, just before the breaching-battery was ready to open, a white flag was shewn from the fort. Captain Stoddart, of the Strombolo, and captain Zehupfenning, were immediately sent to the fort; and the latter returned in a few minutes with an offer from the com-

Unanimity of the English Army and Navy.

mandant, to surrender the fort and garrison upon conditions of marching out with the officers and men preserving their private property.

" This was immediately acceded to by lieutenant-colonel Prevost and myself: the fort was taken possession of by the advance of the troops. The garrison marched out, grounded their arms on the glacis, and were immediately embarked.

" I have great satisfaction in stating, that during this service, which has so much depended upon the united exertion of the army and navy; the most perfect cordiality has existed among all ranks; and have met, in lieutenant-colonel Prevost, all that openness of communication and confidence which an acquaintance with the character of this excellent officer gave me reason to expect.

" In an operation where the laborious exertions of the captain, officers, seamen, and marines, under my orders, have been most conspicuous, I hope I shall be excused for having gone so much into detail; but it is my duty, and a most agreeable one, to bring under your view the praise-worthy conduct of all ranks and descriptions. I must particularly draw your attention to the zeal and activity displayed by that valuable officer, captain Carroll, of the *Volcano*; his conduct was the admiration of every body, and he was ably supported by lieutenant Pidgely, of the *Invincible*, and the other officers, seamen, and marines under his direction. From the explosion of a shell near him, the night before, captain Carroll was obliged to suspend his service until the morning of the 7th, (but I am happy to state he has perfectly recovered) and captain Stodart, of the *Strombolo*, succeeded him in the direction of getting up the guns, &c. for the breaching-battery, and deserves every credit for his active services. I am also

French account of Tarragona.

much obliged to captain Badcock, of the Brune, for the assistance he afforded me, &c.

“ I have enclosed you a list of the garrison of the fort, consisting of two lieutenants, a surgeon, and gardonagazin, sixteen Italian artillerymen, and thirty-eight non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the eleventh French regiment of the line, of whom two were killed and eleven wounded.

“ During the siege of the fort, the gun-boats were stationed in Ampula Bay, to observe the road from Tortosa, as we had constant reports of the enemy being in motion from that quarter.

“ I have the honour to be,

“ CHARLES ADAM, Captain.”

As we have said above, the affair before Tarragona, under the conduct of sir John Murray, excited considerable emotion in the minds of the English, we deem it necessary, that the public may be in possession of both sides of the question, to insert the French account of the circumstances which took place in that part of the Peninsula from the landing of lieutenant-general sir John Murray which we shall give in a translation from the duke of Albufera's bulletin

Valencia, June 3, 1813.

“ I HAVE just this moment (4 p. m.) received a letter from the governor of Tortosa, dated June 3, three quarters past nine o'clock a. m. of which the following is a copy :

‘ Monseigneur.—The enemy's fleet was yesterday in sight before Tarragona at five o'clock ; it consists of about one hundred and eighty sail ; it appears to steer in the direction of Villanova de Sitges.

French account of Tarragona.

" In this state of things I have determined to march with six hundred infantry, and eight hundred horse, into Lower Catalonia, in order to rally the troops of general Decaen, and, if it is possible, to endeavour to fight the English.

(Signed) " Marshal the Duke of ALBUFERA."
To the Minister at War.

Extract of a Letter from the same to the same.

" Tortosa, June 21, 6 a. m.

" Monsieur Le Duc.—I informed your excellency of the embarkation of the Anglo-Sicilian army at Alicant, of its departure from that place on the 21st of May, and of its rapid arrival, on the 2d of June, under Tarragona. The army landed during the night, hastened to invest Fort St. Philippe, as the Col de Balaguer, and the inclosure, without a fosse, which at present constitutes the defence of Tarragona, the forts and extensive fortifications having been razed. A fire from several batteries began on the 3d; during five days Balaguer held out, made an honourable resistance, and killed or wounded of the enemy more than three hundred men. On the morning of the 7th, the explosion of a powder magazine caused the surrender of Fort St. Philippe.

" The enemy, by a fire kept up from the sea and land, attacked Tarragona. At the departure of the Anglo-Sicilian army, the duke del Parque had arrived from Cari-
bin, to replace general Murray in his camp at Castella. Elio, with the second Spanish corps, was close upon our posts.

" As soon as I was informed that the enemy had sailed from Alicant, I made dispositions upon the coast of Valencia, to receive prompt information, whilst I charged general Decaen to collect troops to fall upon the English —

Resistance of Tarragona.

He eagerly executed that disposition, and on the first information detached from Gerona, Beurmann's brigade upon Barcélona, where he arrived the 10th of June. On the 2d of June I had dispatched from before the Xucar, Musnie's division, and the brigades of Pannetier and Argremont; they proceeded by forced marches towards Tortosa. I learned, at ten leagues from Valencia, that the fort of Balaguer had capitulated. I lost the only cannon-road by which I could act; but it was of importance to stop the enemy's success, and, on the 10th, I proceeded to Tortosa; I learned,---the head of my column overthrew the English dragoons near Perello; on the 11th my troops arrived; I pushed forward on the 12th upon the Tarragona road; and not being able to act on the high road, I determined to seek a bye-road across impracticable mountains, in order to announce my arrival to the brave garrison of Tarragona, which refused all summonses, and defended itself with high valour. In short, on the 12th I lighted fires on the mountains, and advancing on the 13th beyond the village of Valledellos, my troops could see and be seen from Tarragona.

“ In the mean time, general Maurice Mathieu set out from Barcelona, and pushed forward to Arbos. The resistance of the place, and the march of columns from Barcelona and Valencia, frightened the enemy, and obliged him precipitately to raise the sige, and re-embark the greater part of his troops; abandoning under the place twenty-seven pieces of artillery, and an immense number of bombs, bullets, &c. all of which have been conveyed into Tarragona. The convoy of one hundred and eighty sail left the shore of Saleu, and came to anchor under Balaguer: this mass of vessels presented a fine spectacle. On the 14, I advanced my troops to reconnoitre the fort.

Skirmishes between the French and English.

some battalions defended the approaches to it, and the fire of the fleet was more hot than murderous upon us. Near Valledellos the English dragoons were roughly handled by the Westphalian light horse; and the 5th light infantry obliged five English battalions to fall back under Hospitalet, and the fire of the English ships.

" On the 15th and 16th, there were slight skirmishes, and the report of twenty-five deserters proved to me that the enemy, either covered by the fort of Balaguer, or embarked, were placed out of the reach of any attempt on the part of a land army.

" Whilst I was acting in Catalonia, I had left general Harispe with the 2nd and 3rd divisions before the Xucar. On leaving him, I directed he should draw in his advanced posts, and establish himself in works, prepared for some time, behind the river: this movement was being executed with precision, when, on the 11th, general Eliot, with a numerous cavalry, attempted to press on our rear-guard. General Mesclop, who commanded it, turned, and at the head of a squadron of the fourth hussars, vigorously charged the enemy, killed or wounded fifty men, and brought back sixty horses, and as many prisoners. The Irish colonel O'Conor was of the number.

On the 13th, in the morning, a double attack was made on the points of Allerque and Alura, general Harispe sustained in a great part of the day, the enemy's demonstrations, a brisk cannonade took place, but the enemy refused to engage. The duke del Parque, with the divisions of the prince d'Anglona, and of the English Rebs, attacked in two columns, general Habert, before Cucavente; who did not hesitate to march against the enemy at the head of a squadron of the fourth regiment of hussars, and the whole of the fourteenth and sixteenth of the

Suchet's account of the siege of Tarragona.

line ; he reached, and broke the enemy, in the streets and garden of Carexente ; more than four hundred Spaniards were killed or wounded, seven hundred soldiers, and thirty officers made prisoners, the colours of the Carmona regiment taken, and the enemy put completely to rout. From that time up to the 18th the enemy had undertaken nothing serious against the troops of Valencia.

“ The expeditionary fleet continues at anchor off Balaguer, keeping battalions near Hospitalet and under the fort. My troops being acting in deserts, I decided upon bringing them towards Corapolle, upon the Tarragona road, to procure them water, of which we had been deprived for two days, where I have been informed, that general Mathieu, informed of the raising of the siege of Tarragona, had advanced to that town and to Reus. I however persisted in prolonging my stay in Catalonia, in order to unravel the enemy's projects, when yesterday I learned that the English had resolved to blow up the fort of Balaguer ; this resolution, which entirely entered into my projects, proves to me that the enemy will not renew his attacks upon Tarragona, nor seriously act in Catalonia, which sufficiently informs me of what remains to be done.

“ Thus, M. le Duc. the first operation of the English, upon a line of eighty leagues, has been confined to the taking of a fort, and a garrison of eighty-three soldiers, commanded by a lieutenant, whilst they have lost in killed, wounded, prisoners, or deserters, upon the Xucar, or at Tarragona, above one thousand six hundred and sixty men, and a flag : whilst they have raised the siege, and abandoned twenty-seven pieces of cannon, before a dismantled place without fosses, but defended by a small, but a very valiant garrison.”

Loss of the English.

[Here follows recommendations of different officers and corps who distinguished themselves.

From the same to the same.

Valencia, June 25, 1813.

" M. le Duc.—By my report of the 21st, I informed your Excellency of the precipitate raising of the siege of Tarragona by the English, and their re-embarkation; the necessity of following the movement of the fleet, has forced me to sacrifice the pleasure I should have had in congratulating the governor, Bartoletti, and his brave garrison, upon his fine and vigorous defence; by going to Tarragona I should have lost six days, whilst so soon as I received a report from general Mathieu, from Reus, and two letters from general Bartoletti, I only thought of returning to Valencia, to prevent the English from anticipating me.

" The loss of the English at Tarragona has been immense; thirty pieces of heavy cabbre mortars, fire-ships, bombs, magazines of rum, salt-meat, &c. have been delivered to the flames; but the enemy suffered still more considerable losses on the night between the 20 and 21st: signals, firing of cannon, announced that the immense convoy had decided to quit the coast of Catalonia. At day-break ten large vessels were seen off the mouths of the Ebro, eighteen brigs or large ships had grounded upon the sands at the mouth of the river. Your Excellency will be able to judge of it by the reports of the chef des gardes de la Sante, which I have the honour to enclose. As soon as I was informed of it, I ordered assistance to be given to those vessels, but the great difficulty in arriving prevented their reaching them. Several ships, detached from the grand convoy, returned; they succeeded in saving the greater part of the troops and transports. It ap-

Suchet's account of Tarragona.

pears the enemy lost but five ships, which in general were abandoned.

“ As soon as I was informed the enemy had sailed for the coast of Valencia, I put Musnier's division and Argemont's brigade in march: by an effort worthy of praise, they have marched fifteen leagues a day, ambitious of anticipating the enemy's fleet at every point. All the declarations of the captures, whose vessel grounded, state the enemy was to have disembarked at Castellan de la Plana, to have separated me from the forces which I had left upon the Xucar. The astonishing rapidity of the march of our troops, and the violence of the winds, have not allowed the enemy to evacuate his projects; he remained three hours in sight of Castellan, the 22nd; and on the same day I arrived there with four thousand men, eight hundred horse, and six pieces of light artillery. The fleet, beaten by contrary winds, appeared before the Gras de Valence; a frigate was detached to take possession of the small privateer, the Determinée. She was close in shore, and grounded before Murviedro. General Rouelle proceeded with two companies of grenadiers, and two pieces of cannon, to her assistance. A lively musketry fire took place; the enemy launched several boats filled with troops; they attempted to repulse our people, but were so well received, that they retired with considerable loss.

[The remainder of the dispatch states, that the efforts of the English to again re-kindle the war in Catalonia, have failed.]

(Signed) “ The Duke of ALBUFERA.”

Such are the accounts which have been given of the affair before Tarragona, both by Sir John Murray himself, and by marshal Suchet, duke of Albufera; and we confess, that, in the whole range of official dispatches which

Conduct of sir John Murray caused dissatisfaction

it has been our fortune to peruse, we do not recollect any so barren as that of sir John Murray * In that, however, of marshal Suchet the circumstances are minutely detailed, and though they appear to be of a trifling nature, yet trifling as they are, the gallant resistance of the duque del Parque rendered them very difficult of attainment. Lord William Bentinck appears to have been dissatisfied with the raising of the siege of Tarragona, and therefore left Sicily and landed at Alicant toward the close of June when he took the command of the Anglo Sicilian army from sir John Murray, and headed the forces himself

By a dispatch from field marshal the marquis of Wellington, dated Zubierta, July 10, 1813, it appears, that although the enemy had withdrawn their right and left quite into France, they still maintained their centre in the valley of Bustan, of which, by reason of its richness, and the strong position it affords, they appeared determined to keep possession, and had assembled there three divisions of the army of the South, under the command of general Gazan Lieutenant general sir Rowland Hill, however, having been relieved from the blockade of Pamplona,

* It may not be improper to observe, that the artillery left by lieutenant general Murray at Tarragona were the identical train with which lord Wellington reduced Badajoz. They were sent back to the Tagus after the capture of Badajoz, and were there embarked for Alicant, from which place they were taken with the expedition under the command of sir John Murray, being placed under the direction of a distinguished officer of artillery, who had been promoted for his meritorious services at Badajoz. This train was supplied with three hundred rounds to each gun, as it was attended by one company of British, and three of Portuguese artillerymen, in number at least eight hundred

dislodged them from all their positions, on the 4th, 5th, and 7th of July, with two brigades of British, and one of Portuguese infantry of the 2nd division, under the command of lieutenant-general the honourable W. Stewart, and with one brigade of Portuguese infantry, of the Conde d'Amarante's division, under the command of the Conde in person. The last post which the enemy occupied in the Puente de Maya, between that village and Urdax, was remarkably strong; and the fog was so thick in the afternoon, that it was impossible for the troops to advance beyond the point at which they found themselves when it came on. The enemy, however, had been pushed so vigorously up to that point, that they were obliged to abandon their post in the night, and retire into France.

By a further dispatch from the noble marquis, dated Lezaca, July 19, it appears, that a battery of four guns opened upon the 14th, against a fortified convent, which was strongly occupied by the enemy in front of St. Sebastian; and, on the morning of the 17th, this post, and another strong work which joined it, were carried by assault. Two columns, commanded by generals Oswald and Hay, were employed upon this service: they were composed chiefly of Portuguese troops, supported by the 8th regiment.

General Mina having been joined near Saragossa by general Duran, they attacked general Paris upon the 8th of July. In the night of the 9th, the enemy retreated towards Jaca, leaving a garrison in a redoubt, which general Duran was ordered to attack, while general Mina and Don Julian pursued the enemy's column. They had taken many prisoners and much baggage; and upon the 11th they captured a convoy.

Saragossa surrenders

Marshal Suchet evacuated Valencia on the 5th of July, the garrison of Segorbe was withdrawn, and general Severoli had blown up the fort of Alcaniz, and marched upon Mequinenza.

Saragossa surrendered by capitulation to general Mina on the 30th of July. The garrison consisted of five hundred men, who were of course taken prisoners, with forty-seven pieces of cannon, and a vast quantity of ammunition, arms, cloathing, &c

As the following dispatch from the marquis of Wellington dated San Estevan, August 1, 1813, will better explain the operations of the allied army, under the command of his lordship, before San Sebastian, than any other account we can collect, we shall give it entire, with the exception of the praises bestowed on the officers, &c.

" *MY LORD,*

" Two practicable breaches, having been effected at San Sebastian on the 24th of July, orders were given that they should be attacked on the morning of the 25th. I am concerned to have to report that this attempt to obtain possession of the place failed, and that our loss was very considerable.

Marshal Soult had been appointed *Lieutenant de l'Empereur* and commander in chief of the French armies in Spain and the southern provinces of France, by a *Decree Imperial* on the 1st of July, and he joined and took the command of the army on the 13th of July, which having been joined nearly about the same time by the corps which had been in Spain under the command of general Clauzel, and by other reinforcements was called the army of Spain, and re formed into nine divisions of infantry, forming the right, centre, and left, under the command of general Reille, comte d'Uzon and general Clauzel, as Lieutenant

Soult attacks general Byng.

generals, and a reserve under general Villatte; and two divisions of dragoons and one of light cavalry, the two former under the command of generals Treillard and Tility and the latter under the command of general Pierre Soult. There was besides allotted to the army a large proportion of artillery, and a considerable number of guns had already joined.

" The allied army was posted, as I have already informed your lordship, in the passes of the mountains. Major-general Byng's brigade of British infantry, and general Morillo's division of Spanish infantry, were on the right in the pass of Roncesvalles. Lieutenant-general sir Lowry Cole was posted at Visearret, to support those troops; and lieutenant-general sir Thomas Pierton, with the third division, at Olaque in reserve.

" Lieutenant-general sir Rowland Hill occupied the valley of Bastan with the remainder of the second division, and the Portuguese division, under the Conde de Amarante, detaching general Campbell's Portuguese brigade to Los Alduides, within the French territory.---The light and seventh divisions occupied the heights of Santa Barbara, and the town of Vera, and the Puerto de Echalar, and kept the communication with the valley of Bastan; and the sixth division was in reserve at San Estevan. General Longa's division kept the communication between the troops at Vera and those under lieutenant-general sir Thomas Graham, and Mariscal del Campo Giron, on the great road.

" The Conde del Abishal blockaded Pampeluna.

" On the 24th, marshal Soult collected the right and left wings of his army, with one division of his centre, and two divisions of cavalry, at St. Jean de Pied de Port, and on the 25th, attacked, with between thirty and forty thou-

The village of Sorausen taken

" The river Lanz runs in the valley which was on the left of the allied, and on the right of the French army, along the road to Ostiz. Beyond this river there is another range of mountains connected with Lizasso and Marcalain, by which places it was now necessary to communicate with the rest of the army.

" I joined the third and fourth divisions just as they were taking up their ground on the 27th, and shortly afterwards the enemy formed their army on a mountain, the front of which extends from the high road to Ostiz to the high road to Zubiri, and they placed one division on the left of that road on a height, and in some villages in front of the third division. They had here also a large body of cavalry.

" Shortly after they had taken up their ground, the enemy attacked the hill on the right of the fourth division, which was then occupied by one battalion of the fourth Portuguese regiment, and by the Spanish regiment of Pravia.

" These troops defended their ground, and drove the enemy from it with the bayonet. Seeing the importance of this hill to our position, I reinforced it with the fortieth regiment; and this regiment with the Spanish regiments of El Principio and Pravia held it from this time, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of the enemy during the 27th and 28th to obtain possession of it. About the same time that the enemy attacked this height on the 27th, they took possession of the village of Sorausen, on the road to Ostiz, by which they acquired the communication by that road; and they kept up a fire of musketry along the line till it was dark.

" We were joined on the morning of the 28th by the sixth division of infantry, and I directed the heights

Major-general Ross compelled to leave his Post.

should be occupied on the left of the valley of the Lanz; and that the sixth division should form across the valley in rear of the left of the fourth division, resting their right on the heights of Oricain, and their left on the heights above-mentioned.

“ The sixth division had scarcely taken their position when they were attacked by a very large force of the enemy, which had been assembled in the village of Sorausen.

“ Their front was, however, so well defended by the fire of their own light troops from the heights on their left, and by the fire from the heights occupied by the fourth division and brigadier general Campbell’s Portuguese brigade, that the enemy were soon driven back with immense loss, from a fire on their front, both flanks, and rear.

“ In order to extricate their troops from the difficulty in which they found themselves in their situation in the valley of the Lanz, the enemy now attacked the height on which the left of the fourth division stood, which was occupied by the seventh Carçadores, of which they obtained a momentary possession. They were attacked, however, again by the seventh Carçadores, supported by major-general Ross, at the head of his brigade, of the fourth division, and were driven down with great loss.

“ The battle now became general along the whole front of the heights occupied by the fourth division, and in every part in our favour, excepting where one battalion of the tenth Portuguese regiment of major-general Campbell’s brigade was posted. This battalion having been overpowered, and having been obliged to give away immediately on the right of major-general Ross’s brigade, the enemy established themselves on our line, and major-general Ross was obliged to withdraw from his post.

The French attack sir Rowland Hill

" I, however, ordered the twenty-seventh and forty-eighth regiments to charge, first that body of the enemy which had first established themselves on the height, and next those on the left. Both attacks succeeded, and the enemy was driven down with immense loss, and the sixth division having moved forward at the same time to a situation in the valley nearer to the left of the fourth, the attack upon our front ceased entirely, and was continued but faintly on other points of our line.

" In the course of this contest, the gallant fourth division, which had so frequently been distinguished in this army, surpassed their former good conduct. Every regiment charged with the bayonet, and the fortieth, the seventh, twentieth, and twenty-third four different times. Their officers set them the example, and major general Ross had two horses shot under him. The Portuguese troops likewise behaved admirably, and I had every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the Spanish regiments del Principe and Pravia.

" I had ordered lieutenant-general sir Rowland Hill to march by Lanz upon Lizasso, as soon as I found that lieutenant generals sir Thomas Picton and sir Lowry Cole had moved from Zubiri, and lieutenant general the earl of Dalhousie from San Esteban to the same place, where both arrived on the 28th, and the seventh division came to Merindun.

" The enemy's force, which had been in front of sir Rowland Hill, followed his march, and arrived at Oritz on the 29th. The enemy, thus reinforced, and occupying a position in the mountains, which appeared little liable to attack, and finding that they could make no impression on our front, determined to endeavour to turn our left, by an attack on sir Rowland Hill's corps.



Sir Rowland Hill driven back.

All these operations obliged the enemy to abandon a position which is one of the strongest and most difficult of access that I have yet seen occupied by troops.

"In their retreat from this position the enemy lost a great number of prisoners.

"I cannot sufficiently applaud the conduct of all the general officers, officers, and troops throughout these operations. The attack made by lieutenant-general the earl of Dalhousie was admirably conducted by his lordship, and executed by major-general Inglis and the troops composing his brigade; and that by major-general the honourable Edward Pakenham, and major-general Byng, and that by lieutenant-general sir Lowry Cole; and the movements made by sir Thomas Picton merit my highest commendation. The latter officer co-operating in the attack of the mountain by detaching troops to his left in which the honourable lieutenant-colonel Trench was wounded, but I hope not seriously.

"While these operations were going on, and in proportion as I observed their success, I detached troops to the support of lieutenant-general sir Rowland Hill. The enemy appeared in his front late in the morning, and immediately commenced an extended manœuvre upon his left flank, which obliged him to withdraw from the height which he occupied behind the Lizasso to the next range. He there, however, maintained himself, and I enclose his report of the conduct of the troops. I continued the pursuit of the enemy after their retreat from the mountain to Olaque, where at sun set, immediately in the rear of their attack upon lieutenant-general sir Rowland Hill. They withdrew from his front in the night, and yesterday took up a strong position, with two divisions to cover their rear in the pass of Donna Maria.

French attempt to raise the Blockade of Pampeluna

“ Lieutenant-general Sir Rowland Hill, and the earl of Dalhousie, attacked and carried the pass, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance of the enemy and the strength of their position. I am concerned to add, that lieutenant-general the houourable William Stewart was wounded on this occasion. I enclose lieutenant-general Sir Rowland Hill’s report.

“ In the mean time I moved with major-general Byng’s brigade, and the fourth division under lieutenant-general Sir Lowry Cole, by the pass of Velate upon Irurita, in order to turn the enemy’s position on Donna Maria. Major-general Byng took in Elizondo, a large convoy going to the enemy, and made many prisoners.

“ We have this day continued the pursuit of the enemy in the valley of the Bidassoa, and many prisoners and much baggage have been taken. Major-general Byng has possessed himself of the valley of Bastan, and of the position on the Puerto de Maya, and the army will be this night nearly in the same position which they occupied on the 25th of July.

“ I trust that his royal highness the prince Regent will be satisfied with the conduct of the troops of his majesty and of his allies on this occasion. The enemy having been considerably reinforced and re-equipped after their late retreat, made a most formidable attempt to relieve the blockade of Pampeluna with the whole of their forces, excepting the reserve under general Villatte, which remained in front of our troops on the great road from Irun.

“ This attempt has been entirely frustrated by the operations of a part only of the allied army, and the enemy have sustained a defeat and suffered a severe loss both in officers and men.

“ The enemy’s expectations of success, beyond the point

Failure in the Storm of St Sebastian

of raising the blockade of Pampeluna, were certainly very sanguine. They brought into Spain a large body of cavalry, and a great number of guns, neither of which arms could be used to any great extent by either party in the battle which took place. They sent off the guns to St. Jean de Pied de Port on the evening of the 28th, which thus returned to France in safety.

[As the remainder of the noble marquis's letter relates to the excellent conduct of the several officers, there is no occasion for its insertion in this place.]

"I have the honour, &c

(Signed) "WELLINGTON."

"I have omitted to inform your lordship in the body of the dispatch, that the troops in the Puerto de Maya lost their four Portuguese guns on the 25th of July. Major general Pringle, who commanded when the attack commenced, had ordered them to retire towards Maya, and when lieutenant-general Stewart came up, he ordered that they might return and retire by the mountain road to Elizondo. In the mean time the enemy were in possession of the pass, and the communication with that road was lost, and they could not reach it."

The following is a copy of Sir Thomas Graham's report concerning the assault of St. Sebastian.

"MY LORD, Ernani, June 27, 1813

"The attack of the breach in the line wall on the flank of St. Sebastian's took place on the morning of the 25th, when the fall of the tide left the foot of the wall dry, which was soon after day light — I am sorry to say, that notwithstanding the distinguished gallantry of the troops employed, some of whom did force their way in the town, the attack did not succeed. The enemy occupied in force all the defences of

Gallantry of the British Troops.

the place which looked that way, and from which and from all round the breach, they were enabled to bring so destructive a fire of grape and musketry flanking and enfilading the column, and to throw over so many hand grenades on the troops, that it became necessary to desist from the assault.

“ The loss sustained was therefore severe, especially by the third battalion of the royal Scots, the leading one of major-general Hay’s brigade, which, being on duty in the trenches, formed the column of attack.—Major-general Spry’s Portuguese brigade, that of major-general Robinson, and the fourth Caçadores of brigadier general Wilson’s being in reserve in the trenches: the whole under the direction of major-general Oswald, commanding the fifth division.

“ Though this attack has failed, it would be great injustice not to assure your lordship that the troops conducted themselves with their usual gallantry, and only retired when I thought a further perseverance in the attack would have occasioned a useless sacrifice of brave men. Major-general Hay, major Frazer: colonel, the honourable C. F. Greville, and colonel Cameron, commanding the royal Scotch thirty-eighth and ninth regiments, greatly distinguished themselves. Major Frazer lost his life on the breach, with many of his brave comrades.

“ The conduct throughout the whole of the operations of the siege hitherto, of the officers and men of the royal artillery and engineers, never was exceeded in indefatigable zeal, activity, and gallantry. The three officers of this corps, employed to conduct different parts of the column of attack, behaved admirably, but suffered severely.

“ I have the greatest satisfaction too in assuring your lordship of the most cordial support and assistance, afforded by sir George Collier commanding his majesty’s ships

Statement of the Loss sustained on the attack of San Sebastian

on this coast, and of all the officers and seamen of the squadron employed on shore

"I have the honour to be, &c

(Signed) "T GRAHAM"

To Field Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, K G

General abstract of the loss sustained in the action from the 25th of July to the 2d of August, 1813 — British, officers and men, five hundred and forty killed, three thousand five hundred and sixteen wounded, and five hundred missing Portuguese, officers and men, three hundred and twenty two killed, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four wounded, and two hundred and one missing Grand total of killed, wounded, and missing, six thousand nine hundred and forty three By a supplementary account two hundred and ten were added to the number No mention is made of the Spanish loss

In the above unfortunate assault on St Sebastian, as first as our troops came up they were knocked down by the dreadful fire from the defences which bore upon the breaches and when a few got into them they were unable to effect any thing from their weakness In short, it is said, that the carnage was so great, that the French themselves call'd to our officers, to draw the men off, and actually ceased firing upon them

The marquis of Wellington, in a dispatch dated Lezaga, Aug 25, informs us, that no movement of importance had been made by the enemy, or by the allies, since he transmitted the above report of the attack on San Sebastian He likewise acquaints us, that he received reports from lieutenant general lord William Bentinck (who succeeded general Murray in the command of the army) to the 19th of August, copies and extracts of which he transmitted to England, and says, "I entirely approve of

Movements of the Armies.

lieutenant-general lord William Bentinck's having retired, as he had not been able to collect his whole force, and did not consider himself sufficiently strong to fight a general action with the enemy."

By lord William Bentinck's report to the marquis of Wellington, dated Cambrilla, August 16, 1813, it appears, that on the 3rd of that month the Duque del Parque's corps came up to Tarragona, as did the division of general Sarsfield on the 11th. General Elio could not spare the three regiments of the division of Migares, which lord W. Bentinck had requested him to send. On the 10th, lord Bentinck received information, that marshal Suchet had returned to Villa Franca from Barcelona, and had brought with him five thousand men. The reports of the succeeding days left no doubt of its being his intention to move forward; and on the 14th, his lordship learned from the baron d'Eroles and colonel Manzo, that besides collecting all he could from the garrisons, he had been joined by Decaen with six thousand men. In consequence of this intelligence his lordship suspended all operations for the siege of Tarragona, except the making of fascines, and landed neither artillery nor stores. His lordship intended to have pushed on to the Llobregat, Suchet's army being at one time divided between Barcelona and Villa Franca and its environs: a rapid movement, he says, might possibly have enabled him to fall separately upon his advanced corps, and to obtain possession of the ridge of mountains on the hither side of the Llobregat, before Suchet could have time to bring up his troops from Barcelona; but his lordship could not execute this movement before he was joined by general Sarsfield, and previously Suchet had concentrated his forces in Villa Franca and its neighbourhood. Suchet's force his lordship says, had been variously reported from twenty to

Tarragona blown up

twenty-five thousand men. The immediate vicinity of Tarragona offered a very good position in itself, but it might have been completely turned by an enemy who, crossing the Cols, should approach Tarragona by Valls and Reus. On the 14th, Suchet moved a large corps upon Alli Tulla, but the road being close to the beach, the gun boats prevented him from passing, if such were his intention. On the 15th, he drove back the posts on the Cols of San Christina and Llebra, and afterwards forced the corps at Brasia, by which they were supplied, to retire. His whole army marched by this route. Upon Suchet's continuing to advance upon Tarragona, lord Bentinck resolved upon retiring in the night, and the army arrived at Cambrià on the morning of the 16th, without any loss, and without receiving any molestation from the enemy. "If there had been any fair chance of success," his lordship says, "I would have given them battle." The French blew up Tarragona on the night of the 18th of August.

We now return to St. Sebastian, and by dispatches which were received at the Admiralty from captain Sir G. Collier, off that fortress, it appears that the re-opening of the batteries against that place commenced on the morning of the 26th of August, and that they continued to fire with great effect. On the morning of the 27th, Sir George says, the seamen and marines, with a party of soldiers, in the boats of the squadron, attacked and took the important island of Santa Clara at the entrance of the harbour, three seamen were killed, and two officers and sixteen seamen and marines wounded.

The marquis of Wellington in his official dispatch, dated Lexington, Sept. 2, 1813 says the fire against the fortress of San Sebastian was opened on the 26th of August,

Storming of San Sebastian

and directed against the towers which flanked the curtain on the eastern face, against the demy-bastion on the south-eastern angle, and the termination of the curtain of the north-east face. Lieutenant Sir Thomas Graham had directed that an establishment should be formed on the island of Santa Clara, which was effected on the night of the 26th ; and the enemy's detachment on that island were made prisoners. Captain Cameron, of the ninth, had the command of the detachment which effected this operation ; lieutenant the honourable James Arbuthnot, of the royal navy, commanded the boats of the squadron and lieutenant Bell commanded the marines.

All that was deemed practicable to carry into execution, in order to facilitate the approach to the breaches before made in the wall of the town, having been effected on the 30th of August, and another breach having been made at the termination of the curtain, the place was stormed at eleven o'clock in the day of the 31st, and carried. The loss on the side of the English was very severe. Lieutenant-general Sir James Leith, who had joined the army only two days before, and major-generals Oswald and Robinson, were unfortunately wounded in the breach ; and colonel Sir Richard Fletcher of the royal engineers, was killed by a musket-ball at the mouth of the trenches. In this officer, and in lieutenant-colonel Crawford, of the ninth regiment, this service sustained a severe loss.

Lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Graham's report of this operation, affords another instance of the distinguished gallantry, bravery, and perseverance of the British officers and troops, under the most trying difficulties. The tenth Portuguese brigade, under major Snodgrass, crossed the river Urumea, and stormed the breach on the right, in the most undaunted manner, under the most tremendous fire

The Garrison Surrenders.

which could be directed against them from the castle and town. The garrison then retired to the castle, leaving about two hundred and seventy, who fell into the hands of the allies.

Since the fire against Saint Sebastian had been recommenced, the enemy drew the greater part of their force to the camp of Urogüe, and there was every reason to believe that they would have made an attempt to relieve the place.

Three divisions of the fourth Spanish army, commanded by general Don Manuel Freyre, occupied the heights of San Marcial, and the town of Irún, by which the approach to San Sebastian, by the high road, was covered and protected, and they were supported by the first division of the British infantry, under major-general Howard, and major-general lord Aylmer's brigade, on their left, and in the rear of Irún; and by general Longu's division encamped near the Sierra de Aya, in rear of their right. In order to secure them still further, the marquis of Wellington moved two brigades of the fourth division, on the 30th of the same month, to the convent of San Antonio, one of which (general Ross's) under lieutenant-general the honourable sir Lowry Cole, moved up the same day to the Sierra de Aya, and the other, on the morning of the 31st, leaving the ninth Portuguese brigade on the heights between the convent and Vera, and Lezaca.

Major-general Inglis's brigade of the seventh division was moved on the 30th to the bridge of Lezaca; and the marquis gave orders for the troops in the Puertos of Echalar, Zugarramendi, and Mayn, to attack the enemy's weakened posts in front of those positions.

The enemy crossed the Bidassoa by the fords between Andia and the destroyed bridge on the high road before day-light on the morning of the 31st, with a very large





DUCK D' ENGHEN

.Valour of the Spanish Troops

force, with which they made a most desperate attack along the whole front of the position of the Spanish troops on the heights of San Marcial. They were bravely driven back, some of them even across the river, by the Spanish troops, whose conduct, says the noble marquis, was equal to that of any troops that he had ever seen engaged ; and the attack, having been frequently repeated, was upon every occasion defeated with the same gallantry and determination. The course of the river being immediately under the heights on the French side, on which the enemy had placed a considerable quantity of cannon, they were enabled to throw a bridge across the river, about three quarters of a mile above the high road, over which in the afternoon they marched again a considerable body, which, with those who had crossed the fords, made another desperate attack upon the Spanish positions. This was likewise beaten back ; and at length, finding all their efforts on that side fruitless, they took advantage of the darkness of a violent storm to retire their troops from this front entirely.

Although the marquis of Wellington had a British division on each flank of the fourth Spanish army, the conduct of the latter was so conspicuously good, and their defence so masterly, that they did not stand in need of his lordship's assistance, notwithstanding the desperate efforts of the enemy to carry it.

Nearly at the same time that the French crossed the Bidassoa in front of the heights of San Marcial, they likewise crossed that river with about three divisions of infantry in two columns, by the fords below Salin, in front of the position occupied by the ninth Portuguese brigade. The noble marquis ordered major-general Inglis to support this brigade with that of the seventh division under his command ; and so soon as he was informed of the

The French unsuccessful attack of the Spaniards

course of the enemy's attack, he sent to lieutenant-general the earl of Dalhousie, to request that he would likewise move towards the Bidassoa, with the seventh division; and to the light division, to support major-general Inglis by every means in their power. Major-general Inglis found it impossible to maintain the heights between Lezaca and the Bidassoa, and he withdrew to those in front of the convent of San Antonia, which he maintained. In the mean time major-general Kempt moved one brigade of the light division to Lezaca, by which he kept the enemy in check, and covered the march of the earl of Dalhousie to join major-general Inglis.

The enemy, however, having completely failed in their attempt upon the position of the Spanish army on the heights of San Martial; and finding that major-general Inglis had taken a position from which they could not drive him; at the same time that it covered and protected the right of the Spanish army, and the approaches to San Sebastian by Oyarzun, and that their situation on the left of the Bidassoa was becoming every moment more critical, retired during the night.

The fall of rain during the evening and night had swollen the Bidassoa, that the rear of their column was obliged to cross at the bridge of Vera. In order to effect which, they attacked the posts of major-general Skerret's brigade of the light division, at about three in the morning, both from the Puerto de Vera and from the left of the Bidassoa. Although the nature of the ground rendered it impossible to hinder entirely the passage of the bridge after day-light, it was made under the fire of a great part of major-general Skerret's brigade, and the enemy's loss in the operation was considerable. While this was carrying on upon the left of the army, Mariscal del Campo

Graham's account of the storming of San Sebastian

Don Pedro Giron attacked the enemy's posts in front of the pass of Echalar, on the 30th and 31st. Lieutenant-general the earl of Dalhousie made general Le Cor attack those in front of Zuzarrimardi, with the 6th Portuguese brigade, on the 31st; and the honourable major-general Colville made colonel Douglas attack the enemy's post in front of the pass of Maya, on the same day, with the 7th Portuguese brigade. The attack made by the earl of Dalhousie delayed his march till late in the afternoon of the 31st, but he was in the evening in a favourable situation for his farther progress; and in the morning of the 1st of September in that allotted for him.

"In these operations," says the Marquis of Wellington, "in which a second attempt by the enemy to prevent the establishment of the allies upon the frontiers had been defeated by the operations of a part only of the allied army, at the very moment at which the town of St. Sebastian was taken by storm, I have had great satisfaction in observing the zeal and ability of the officers, and the gallantry and discipline of the soldiers. The different reports which I have transmitted from lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Graham, will have shewn the ability and perseverance with which he has conducted the arduous enterprize entrusted to his direction, and the zeal and exertion of all the officers employed under him."

The following extract from Sir Thomas Graham's letter to the marquis of Wellington, concerning the storming of San Sebastian, is highly honourable to the British forces under his command.

MY LORD,

"Oyarzun, Sept. 1, 1813.

"In obedience to your lordship's orders of the preceding day, to attack and form a lodgement on the breach of

Positions of the Army

San Sebastian, which now extended to the left, so as to embrace the outermost tower, the end and front of the curtain immediately over the left bastion, as well as the faces of the bastion itself, the assault took place at eleven o'clock A. M. yesterday; and I have the honour to inform your lordship, that the heroic perseverance of all the troops concerned was at last crowned with success.

" The column of attack was formed of the second brigade of the fifth division commanded by major-general Robinson, with an immediate support of detachments as per margin *, and having in reserve the remainder of the fifth division, consisting of major-general Spry's Portuguese brigade, and the first brigade under major-general Hay; as also the fifth battalion of Caçadores of general Bradford's brigade, under major Hill; the whole under the direction of lieutenant-general Sir James Leith commanding the fifth division.

" Having arranged every thing with Sir J. Leith, I crossed the Urumia to the batteries of the right attack, where every thing could be most distinctly seen, and from whence the orders for the fire of the batteries, according to circumstances, could be immediately given.

" The column, in filing out of the right of the trenches, was, as before, exposed to a heavy fire of shells and grape

* One hundred and fifty volunteers of the light division, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Hunt, of the fifty-second regiment; four hundred of the first division (consisting of two hundred of the brigades of guards, under lieutenant-colonel Cooke, one hundred of the light battalion, and one hundred of the line battalions of the king's German legion,) under major Robinson; and two hundred of the fourth division, under major Rose, of the twenty-eighth foot.

The allies repulsed with great loss

shot, and a mine was exploded in the left angle of the counterscarp of the horn work, which did great damage, but did not check the ardour of the troops in advancing to the attack. There was never any thing so fallacious as the external appearance of the breach ; without some description, the almost insuperable difficulties of the breach cannot be estimated. Notwithstanding its great extent, there was but one point where it was possible to enter, and there by single files. All the inside of the wall to the right of the curtain formed a perpendicular scarp, of at least twenty feet to the level of the streets : so that the narrow ridge of the curtain itself, formed by the breaching of its end and front, was the only accessible point. During the suspension of the operations of the siege, from the want of ammunition, the enemy had prepared every means of defence which art could devise, so that great numbers of men were covered by intrenchments and traverses, in the horn-work, on the ramparts of the curtain, and inside of the town opposite to the breach, and ready to pour a most destructive fire of musketry on both sides of the approach to the top of the narrow ridge of the curtain.

“ Every thing that the most determined bravery could attempt was repeatedly tried in vain by the troops, who were brought forward from the trenches in succession. No man outlived the attempt to gain the ridge ; and though the slope of the breach afforded shelter from the enemy’s musketry, yet still the nature of the stone rubbish prevented the great exertions of the engineers and working parties from being able to form a lodgement for the troops, exposed to the shells and grape from the batteries of the castle, as was peculiarly directed in obedience to your lordship’s instructions : and, at all events, a secure lodge-

Desperate state of the Army

ment could never have been obtained without occupying a part of the curtain.

" In this almost desperate state of attack, after consulting with colonel Dickson, commanding the royal artillery, I ventured to order the guns to be turned against the curtain. A heavy fire of artillery was directed against it, passing a few feet only over the heads of our troops on the breach, and was kept up with a precision of practice beyond all example. Meanwhile I accepted the offer of part of major-general Bradford's Portuguese brigade to ford the river near its mouth. The advance of the first battalion, thirteenth regiment, under major Snodgrass, over the open beach, and across the river; and of a detachment of the twenty-fourth regiment, under lieutenant-colonel M'Bean, in support, was made in the handsomest style, under a very severe fire of grape. Major Snodgrass attacked and finally carried the small breach on the right of the great one, and lieutenant-colonel M'Bean's detachment occupied the right of the great breach. I ought not to forget to mention, that similar offers was made by the first Portuguese regiment of brigadier-general Wilson's brigade, under lieutenant-colonel Fearon; and that both major-general Bradford, and brigadier-general Wilson, had, from the beginning urged most anxiously the employment of their respective brigades in the attack, as they had so large a share in the labour and fatigues of the right attack.

" Observing now the effect of the admirable fire of the batteries against the curtain, though the enemy was so much covered, a great effort was ordered to be made to gain the high ridge at all hazards, at the same time that an attempt should be made to storm the horn-work.

* It fell to the lot of the second brigade of the 5th div.

Capture of San Sebastian

vision, under the command of colonel the honourable Charles Greville, to move out of the trenches for this purpose, and the third battalion of the royal Scots, under lieutenant-colonel Barnes, supported by the thirty-eighth, under lieutenant-colonel Miles, fortunately arrived to assault the breach of the curtain, about the time when an explosion on the rampart of the curtain (occasioned by the fire of the artillery) created some confusion among the enemy. The narrow pass was gained, and was maintained, after a severe conflict, and the troops on the right of the breach having about this time succeeded in forcing the barricades on the top of the narrow line wall, found their way into the houses that joined it. Thus, after an assault which lasted above two hours under the most trying circumstances, a firm footing was obtained.

“ It was impossible to restrain the impetuosity of the troops, and in an hour more the enemy were driven from all the complication of defences prepared in the streets, and leaving the whole town in our possession, &c.

“ I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) “ T. GRAHAM.”

The following is a distinct abstract of the killed, wounded, and missing, in the assault of Fort St. Sebastian, and also in the actions on the frontier:

BEFORE ST. SEBASTIAN'S.

British, killed	-	-	571
Portuguese	-	-	189

IN THE ACTIONS.

British, killed	-	-	-	51
Portuguese	-	-	-	88
Spanish	-	-	-	261

Total killed — 1160

Loss sustained by the Allies

Wounded British at St. Sebastian -	-	1003
Portuguese	-	594

IN THE ACTIONS.

British, wounded -	-	-	-	334
Portuguese	-	-	-	386
Spanish	-	-	-	1347
Total wounded		—	3661	

Total killed and wounded 4824

Missing	-	-	-	-	-	130
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Total killed, wounded, and missing 5954

Missing Spaniards	-	-	-	-	-	71
						5025

From accounts given by several officers who arrived from the Peninsula, it appears, that the army under field marshal the marquis of Wellington at this period, amounted to about one hundred and twenty thousand men, of whom forty thousand were British, thirty thousand Portuguese, and fifty thousand Spaniards. It is said, that the garrison had no meat, but little wine, and plenty of bread.

The following extract from a letter from an officer at St Sebastian's, dated Sept 6, paints the horrors which the ravages of war carried into that ill-fated city, and will meet with him, and every honest mind, that this war of ambition should have isolated so many fine places in the countries of Spain and Portugal for a series of years, and hope it will shortly be terminated.

"Since the battle which took place near Pampluna, nothing of any consequence has occurred at the army, (the siege of St Sebastian going on very slowly,) until a few

Castle of St. Sebastian capitulates.

days ago, when the French attempted to relieve it; and, for that purpose Soult made a rapid march, with about forty-five thousand men. Lord Wellington retired from his head quarters at Lezaca, and after a most desperate fight, gave Soult another compleat defeat; the Spaniards behaved with the most noble and determined bravery, and had three generals killed. In the mean time, fifty-three forty-eight pounders completed the breach in St. Sebastian, and a general assault was given, in which we succeeded, after a considerable slaughter on both sides. Never did British soldiers act with more spirit and gallantry, overcoming obstacles which, perhaps, to any other troops would have appeared insurmountable. That part of the garrison which had reached the castle, immediately on finding our troops in full possession, fired shells on it, and in a few moments the city was in flames. A few days after, it was a heap of ruins; and there is nothing now remaining of one of the handsomest towns in Spain to mark the spot where it once stood, but ruins; the church alone, it was thought, would have escaped, but the flames, which still continue, are fast approaching it. The castle still holds out, and is now being bombarded. It is supplied with water by only one well: yesterday our batteries directed their shot to that part, when the French officer commanding resorted to a method of stopping our fire, unheard of in war:—he placed our men which he had taken prisoners round the well: of course our firing ceased. Only conceive the cruelty of such a proceeding! The plunder taken at St. Sebastian is said to be very great."

At length the fate of the castle of St. Sebastian was terminated, by its capitulation, and the terms were equally honourable both to the conquerors and the conquered. Field-marshal the marquis of Wellington, in his dispatch,

dated Lezaca, Sept. 10, encloses a letter from lieutenant-general sir Thomas Graham, dated Ernani, Sept. 9, which contains the articles of capitulation.

The following is a copy of the Return of the French Garrison made Prisoners of War by Capitulation in the Castle of St. Sebastian, on the 8th of September, 1813

" Eighty officers, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six serjeants, drummers, and rank and file — Grand total one thousand eight hundred and thirty six.

" N. B. Twenty-three officers, and five hundred and twelve men, out of the above number, are sick and wounded in the hospital.

(Signed) " ED. PAKENHAM, Adj. Gen."

No act of sir Thomas Graham's military life reflected greater lustre on his genius and talents as a commander, than the manner in which the ^{toe} of St. Sebastian was taken by storm. The almost insuperable difficulties which impeded the progress of the assailants, called in a peculiar degree for all the promptitude and presence of mind of their general, and his resources fully answered the exigencies of the occasion. His ordering the guns to be turned against the curtain, aided by the precision of the artillery in firing a few feet only over the heads of our troops in the breach, it is evident was the sole means, at the critical moment which had occurred, of carrying the place. The state of the attack, from the skilful defences prepared by the enemy, was almost desperate, and but for this new expedient adopted at the moment, and instantly carried into effect, there is every reason to believe that the assault must have failed, or at least could only have succeeded at the price of a loss of life infinitely greater than that actually sustained. The promptitude of the general was undoubtedly most gallantly supported by the skill and the

Wellington's dispatch.

courage of the officers, and the bravery and discipline of the troops under his command, and whilst we lament the severe loss at which the possession of the fortress was purchased, we admit the importance of the achievement.

We must now turn our attention from the series of success which the allied armies had been accustomed to obtain, and give an account of the defeat of the Alicant army under lord William Bentinck, by marshal Suchet, duke of Albufera. The following is the British governments description of this affair.

War Department, Oct. 6.

DISPATCHES have been received from field-marshall the marquis of Wellington, dated the 27th ult. enclosing reports from lord William Bentinck of the 15th and 17th of September.

“ From thence it appears that the enemy, having collected a very considerable force in front of his lordship's army, made an attack early on the morning of the 13th ult. upon the advanced guard posted at the pass of Ordal.

“ The advance consisted of the second battalion of the twenty-seventh regiment, the Calabrian free corps, four rifle companies of the king's German legion, a brigade of Portuguese artillery, amounting altogether to one thousand one hundred men, and three Spanish regiments, who, for several hours, made a most gallant and successful resistance; but being overpowered by the numbers opposed to them, were forced to give way. The loss sustained will, it is believed, not prove ultimately very considerable, as many of those men who had been compelled to shelter themselves in the mountains, had since rejoined the army. The rapid advance of the enemy rendered it necessary to abandon two field-pieces and two mountain guns.

“ On the 11th, lord W. Bentinck deemed it advisable

Defeat of the Spaniards.

to retire the army to Vendrells, and from thence to the neighbourhood of Tarragona. The retreat was effected without any loss, notwithstanding the attempts of the enemy's superior cavalry, which were uniformly repulsed by the charges made by the twentieth light dragoons and the hussars of the king's German legion. The enemy, finding that no impression could be made, retired on the 17th behind the Llobregat."

Such is the meagre account which the British ministry thought fit to publish of the defeat of the Anglo-Spanish army, under the command of lord William Bentinck; but since, by its unexampled brevity, it cannot be supposed to convey a fair and impartial description of that defeat, we shall, that the reader may be enabled to develope the extent of this affair, insert a translation of the French account, from a letter by the marshal the duke of Albufera to his excellency the minister at war, as follows :

Villa Franca, Sept. 16, 1813.

" Monseigneur.—In the beginning of September, lord Bentinck, removing from the sea and the banks of the Ebro, established the Anglo-Spanish army at Villa Franca, occupying the Col d'Ordal, forming magazines at Villa Nova, and making the corps d'armée of general Copons, and Whittingham and Sarsfield's divisions, manœuvre upon the Upper Llobregat, towards Manresa, Esperaguer, and Martorell. The collecting of thirty pieces of cannon at one march from my line, all those dispositions and manœuvres in formation, announced to me a speedy attack. I resolved to anticipate it, and prevent my movements from being pressed and cramped to the gates of Barcelona.

French dispatches.

On the 12th, the army of Arragon was assembled upon the Llobregat, whilst the general in chief, count Decaen, on my invitation, brought part of the army of Catalonia. I ordered him to restrain and keep from my right general Copon's troops; afterwards to march to Saint Saturni upon Villa Franca, and co-operate in my attack by the high road.

" At eight in the evening, I passed the bridge of Molinsdel-Rey, with a fine clear moon, which favoured my march; and Harispe's division, which led, marched upon Ordal.

" That position, very difficult and very rugged, at which one can only arrive after passing a defile of three leagues, was occupied by an advanced guard of nine thousand eight hundred men, under the orders of general Frederic Adam, composed of English troops, Calabrians, and the picked men from Sarsfield's division.

" The general-in-chief lord Bentinck had arrived there the same evening, with admiral Hallowell, either to prepare his dispositions for a speedy attack, or upon some advice of my movement, to reinforce the defence of that important point; the infantry in position was supported by cannon, and a reserve of cavalry.

" On the first musket-shots, general Meselop, commanding the advanced guard, briskly pushed forward the voltigeurs of the seventh of the line, overthrew the posts, and formed his brigade in front of the redoubts. The enemy's cavalry were seen descending in columns upon the road, with the intention of repulsing what they undoubtedly took for a reconnoissance; but our light artillery quickly made them disappear, and the voltigeurs rushed upon the mountain.

The vivacity and extent of the fire which the enemy immediately commenced along his whole front shewed us his

French dispatches.

force. General Meselop ordered the first battalion of the 7th to advance, which he quickly supported himself with the second, whilst the forty-fourth on its side mounted the redoubts ; he re-formed,—he repulsed the tirailleurs,—and, sword in hand, at the head of his column, directed the charge to be beat, and the enemy's first position to be carried by force.

" A most obstinate combat took place upon this point, the enemy in a rage, and with great cries, twice returned, with fresh reserves to obtain possession of it and was again twice driven to his second position, from whence he crushed us with his fire.

" Our infantry, accustomed to assaults, knew how to rally, and return to the charge with constancy ; a platoon of sappers, which had marched with the advanced guard, covered itself with glory : the chief of battalion Feuchere, of the forty-fourth, was wounded in leading his troops : I ordered Herbert's division to advance, which I formed on the left of the road, whilst general Harispe marched, with his reserve, the one hundred and sixteenth regiment of the line, to the support of the first brigade. A last general effort was combined, and the second battalion of the one hundred and sixteenth was ordered to the left to turn the second redoubt. Its commander, Bugeaud, executed the movement with equal skill and vigour : Meselop's brigade rushed forward at the same time with irresistible fury, and we every where remained masters of the field of battle. It was in an instant covered with killed and wounded ; the Spaniards and Calabrians fled in disorder by the woods and mountains.

" As soon as the troops were rallied, I made general D'ort, commanding the cavalry, advance to follow the English, who precipitately retired by the high road. I hoped to reach their artillery, which they had succeeded in putting

French dispatcher.

in retreat. The fourth hussars defeated the Brunswick hussars, and notwithstanding some discharges from infantry, succeeded in taking four pieces of English cannon, which they brought me with their horses, and two caissons : and also took much baggage and three hundred prisoners, to add to one thousand two hundred killed and wounded. The English twenty-seventh regiment of the line was almost destroyed ; its colonel, and general Frederick Adam, aide-de camp to the prince regent, were wounded ; a great number of officers fell in the action : our loss was very trifling in comparison.

" A part of the garrison of Barcelona, commanded by general Maurice Mathieu, and a division of the army of Catalonia, with four Italian battalions, had marched, during the night, under the orders of the general in chief Decaen, to pass the Llobregat and the Noya. Before arriving at Martoreil, general Mathieu had to fight and dislodge three of Erolles' battalions in very difficult positions. In the evening he made some prisoners, and again set out for Saint Estevan and Saint Saturni. In the morning, he saw Monso's corps and some Calabrians in order of battle ; he ordered them to be attacked by general Ordonneau, who, with some horse, and only his advanced guard of the eighteenth light, under the orders of the chief of battalion Pellegrin, overthrew the two first battalions. The enemy dispersed, leaving thirty prisoners, and fifty killed or wounded. The general in chief, Decaen, followed general M. Mathieu with all possible rapidity ; but in consequence of the infinite difficulties, after a very long march, by roads the most impracticable, the cavalry, and even the infantry, only being able to advance one by one, at a distance, day advanced before they were able to take a position at Saint Saturni.

" The attack of the Col d'Ordal, which did not finish till two in the morning by slackening the march of the army of Arragon, favoured my design for the remainder of the day. The infantry followed at the break of day. General Delort, who marched in advance the cavalry, and the battalion of the commander Bugeaud: I ordered him to halt a league on this side of Villa Franca, behind the heights, from whence the enemy's army was discovered in order of battle in three lines. A great ravine, the road, and a bridge intersected, covered the front, his left approached the village of St. Cugat, in which our tirailleurs anticipated him. I had for an instant a hope that this army deployed, would have given time for our movement being completed, but lord William Bentinck, no doubt aware of what there was dangerous in his position, only wished to make an appearance for a moment, he broke up, and made a passage by lines. The retreat immediately commenced, in good order, for Villa Franca. I made the artillery and cavalry advance, the cannon quickly caused some disorder in the enemy's columns.

" Whilst we passed the ravine, and my infantry debouched to follow without delay the movement, the enemy left Villa Franca, and re-formed in the rear. With an honourable confidence, which was not deceived, all the inhabitants remained in their houses, and saw their property and their persons respected, in the midst of one of the most lively actions. The cavalry began reaching the rear guard on leaving the town, colonel Christophe, at the head of the hussars, and a squadron of cuirassiers, briskly pressed upon what the cannon had disordered; a fire from infantry in ambush, and the Brunswick hussars covered the enemy's movement; charges were made on both sides with great vigour. The brigade of the twenty fourth dragoons, and

French dispatches.

the Westphalian light horse manœuvred at the same time upon the right; General Meyer who conducted it, met the twentieth English light horse, and some black hussars: he charged them with two squadrons. The first at the head of the troop, he found himself opposed to colonel Bentinck, commanding the enemy's cavalry; they exchanged several sabre cuts.

" Whilst thus mixed, a battalion concealed in some woods and vineyards, suddenly opened a most lively fire; the remainder of the twenty-fourth dragoons proceeded, followed by the battalion commanded by M. Bugeaud, which all the day formed the advanced guard of the army. The enemy, by favour of this last effort passed a second ravine, and burnt the bridge upon the road, leaving more than one hundred and fifty horses taken, and a still greater number of men killed, wounded, or prisoners. The Black, or duke of Brunswick's hussars, have particularly suffered in these last engagements; from that moment deserters have arrived in considerable numbers. The English army occupied for a moment the position of Arbos and of La Vendrill, from whence it gained in the night the Allafulla road, which is a continual defile upon the sea-coast. It appears it is going to take a position towards Cambrils and Hospitallet: the sick have been withdrawn from Tarragona, and the whole fleet has presented itself to cover the retreat. We have pushed forward to Vendrill, where I have established General Meyer with an advanced guard. A part of the Spaniards having retired upon the road to Igualada, the Westphalian light horse charged them with their usual bravery, and brought back some men and horses belonging to the Mancha dragoons, a troop perfectly well mounted, and of good appearance.

" General Bentinck, on the 15th, asked me, by writing,

French dispatches.

permission to pay the last honours to the captain of dragoons, Hanson, a man of the greatest distinction for valour; I hastened to permit that an English officer should assist at them.

" The enemy has lost more than three thousand five hundred men, not only in killed and wounded, but in prisoners and deserters, without including the loss of his baggage and artillery. The troops which have fought, merit the greatest eulogiums: the artillery served with the greatest distinction, and every arm evinced an unbounded ardour and devotion. I pray your Excellency to receive the list of the different soldiers who have deserved rewards, and to submit it to his majesty.

(Signed) "The marshal duke of ALBUFERA.

" P. S. All the accounts which I receive from the fortresses of Denia, Sagunto, Peniscola, Morella, Lerida, Tortosa, and Mequinenza, are satisfactory; the garrisons in them are in good condition; they have beaten the enemy whenever he has made movements too near them.

" General baron Robert, who commands at Tortosa, has burnt all the boats they had collected upon the Lower Ebro, and gained brilliant advantages."

By the English account of this unfortunate affair, it appears that lord William Bentinck had only eleven hundred men, and three Spanish regiments; but marshal Suchet tells his government that the advanced guard only of the allies amounted to nine thousand men; that the allies lost upwards of three thousand five hundred men in killed, wounded, prisoners, and deserters; and that he took the baggage and artillery from their army. Without doubt, both these accounts are defective, but it is impossible for us to state the exact truth: we can, however, have no hesitation in saying, that part of the truth only has been published by

Advance of the allied army into France.

the English ministry, and that the French account has the appearance of exaggeration. But it is certain that lord William Bentinck, after his defeat, embarked for Sicily on the 22d of September.

From this disastrous affair, however, we have to direct our attention to a dispatch from field-marshal the marquis of Wellington, dated Lezaca, October 9, in which his lordship informs us of his entry with the allied forces into the territories of France. On the morning of the 18th of October, captain the earl of March, arrived with a dispatch from the noble marquis, addressed to earl Bathurst, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, of which the following is a copy :

“ MY LORD,

Lezaca, October 9.

“ Having deemed it expedient to cross the Bidassoa with the left of the army, I have the pleasure to inform your Lordship that that object was effected on the 7th instant.

“ Lieutenant-General sir Thomas Graham directed the first and fifth divisions, and the first Portuguese brigade, under Brigadier General Wilson, to cross that river in three columns below, and in one above the site of the bridge, under the command of major-general Hay, the honourable colonel Greville, major-general the honourable Edward Stopford, and major-general Howard; and lieutenant-general Don Manuel Freyre, directed that part of the sixth Spanish army, under his immediate command, to cross in three columns, at fords above those at which the allied, British, and Portuguese troops passed. The former were destined to carry the enemy's entrenchments about and above Andaye, while the latter should carry those on the Montagne Verte and on the height of Mandale, by which they were to turn the enemy's left.

Gallantry of the allied troops.

" The operations of both bodies of troops succeeded in every point. The British and Portuguese troops took seven pieces of cannon in the redoubts and batteries which they carried, and the Spanish troops one piece of cannon in those by them.

" I had particular satisfaction in observing the steadiness and gallantry of all the troops. The ninth British regiment were very strongly opposed, charged with bayonets more than once, and have suffered; but I am happy to add, that in other parts of these corps our loss has not been severe.

" The Spanish troops under lieutenant-general Don Manuel Freyre behaved admirably, and turned and carried the enemy's entrenchments in the hill, with great dexterity and gallantry; and I am much indebted to the lieutenant-general, and to lieutenant-general sir Thomas Graham, and to the general and staff-officers of both corps, for the execution of the arrangements for this operation.

" Lieutenant-general sir Thomas Graham having thus established, within the French territory, the troops of the allied, British and Portuguese army, which had been so frequently distinguished under his command, resigned the command to lieutenant-general sir John Hope, who had arrived from Ireland the preceding day.

" While this was going on upon the left, major-general C. Baron Alten attacked, with the light division, the enemy's entrenchments in the Puerto de Veta, supported by the Spanish division under brigadier-general *Longa*; and the mareschal del campo Don Pedro Giron attacked the enemy's entrenchments and posts on the mountain, called La Rhune immediately on the right of the light division with the army of reserve of Andalusia.

Wellington's dispatches.

“ Colonel Colborne, of the fifty-second regiment, who commanded major-general Skerret's brigade, in the absence of the major-general, on account of his health, attacked the enemy's right in a camp which they had strongly entrenched ; and the fifty-second regiment, under the command of Major Mein, charged in a most gallant style, and carried the entrenchment with the bayonet. The first and third Caçadores, and the second battalion ninety-fifth regiment, as well as the fifty-second, distinguished themselves in this attack.

“ Major-general Kempt's brigade attacked by the Puerto where the opposition was not so severe ; and major-general, Charles Alten has reported his sense of the judgment displayed both by the major-general and by colonel Colborne in these attacks ; and I am particularly indebted to major-general Charles Alten for the manner in which he executed this service : the light division took twenty-two officers, and four hundred men prisoners, and three pieces of cannon.

“ These troops carried every thing before them in the most gallant style, till they arrived at the foot of the rock on which the Hermitage stands ; and they made repeated attempts to take even that post by storm ; but it was impossible to get up, and the enemy remained during the night in possession of the Hermitage, and on a rock on the same range of the mountain with the right of the Spanish troops. Some time elapsed yesterday morning before the fog cleared away sufficiently to enable me to reconnoitre the mountain, which I found to be least inaccessible by its right, and that the attack of it might be connected with advantage with the attack of the enemy's works in front of the camp of Sarre. I accordingly ordered the army of reserve to concentrate to their right ; and

as soon as the concentration commenced, mareschal del Campo Don Pedro Giron, ordered the battalion de las Ordenes to attack the enemy's post on the rock on the right of the position occupied by his troops, which was instantly carried in the most gallant style. Those troops followed up their success, and carried an entrenchment on a hill, which protected the right of the camp of Sarre, and the enemy immediately evacuated all their works, to defend the approaches to the camp, which were taken possession of by detachments from the seventh division, sent by lieutenant general the earl of Dalhousie, through the Puerto de Eschalar, for this purpose.

" Don P. Giron then established a battalion on the enemy's left, on the rock of the Hermitage. It was too late to proceed farther last night, and the enemy withdrew from their post at the Hermitage, and from the camp of Sarre during the night.

" It gives me singular satisfaction to report the good conduct of the officers and troops of the army of reserve of Andalusia as well in the operations of the 7th inst, as in those of yesterday. The attack was made by the battalion of Las Ordenes under the command of colonel Hore yesterday, and made in as good order, and with as much spirit, as any that I have seen made by any troops; and I was much satisfied with the spirit and discipline of the whole of this corps.

" I cannot applaud too highly the execution of the arrangements for the attacks; by the mareschal del Campo Don Pedro Giron, and the general and staff-officers under his directions.

" I omitted to report to your Lordship in my dispatch of the 4th instant, that upon my way to Roncesvalles, on the 1st instant, I directed brigadier-general Campbell to

General Bentinck embarks for Sicily.

endeavour to carry off the enemy's pickets in his front, which he attacked on that night, and completely succeeded, with the Portuguese troops under his command, in carrying the whole of one picket, consisting of seventy men ; a fortified post on the mountain of Arolla was likewise stormed, and the whole garrison put to the sword.

“ Since I addressed your lordship last, I have received dispatches from lieutenant-general Clinton, in Catalonia, to the 3d instant. The general was still at Tarragona, and the enemy were in their old position on the Llobregat.

“ Lieutenant-general lord William Bentinck had embarked for Sicily on the 22d of September.

“ I send this dispatch by my aid-de-camp, captain the earl of March, whom I beg to recommend to your lordship's protection.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) “ WELLINGTON.

“ I inclose a return of the loss incurred in the late operations ; and a return of the killed, wounded, and missing of the army under lieutenant-general lord William Bentinck, in the affairs at Ordal, on the 12th and 13th ultimo.

“ *Return of the Killed, Wounded, and Missing, of the Army under the Command of his Excellency Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, K. G. in the Passage of the Bidassoa, and forcing the Enemy's Lines, on the 7th and 9th October, 1813.*

“ Total British loss—One captain, three lieutenants, five serjeants, one drummer, sixty-nine rank and file, killed ; one major, twelve captains, twenty-two lieutenants, four ensigns, one staff, thirty-eight serjeants, three drummers, four hundred and nineteen rank and file, wounded ; five, rank and file missing.

“ Total Portuguese loss—One lieutenant-colonel, one

Vigour of the French.

captain, one lieutenant, two ensigns, two serjeants, forty-one rank and file, killed ; one major, one captain, two lieutenants, seven ensigns, fifteen serjeants, one drummer, one hundred and fifty-two rank and file, wounded ; eight rank and file, missing.

“ General total—One lieutenant-colonel, two captains, four lieutenants, two ensigns, seven serjeants, one drummer, one hundred and ten rank and file killed ; two majors, thirteen captains, twenty-four lieutenants, eleven ensigns, one staff, forty-eight serjeants, four drummers, five hundred and seventy-one rank and file wounded ; thirteen rank and file, missing.

“ Accurate returns have not been received of the Spanish loss, but it is estimated at seven hundred and fifty killed, wounded, and missing.

(Signed) “ E. M. PAKENHAM, Adj.-Gen.”

Thus by the marquis of Wellington’s dispatch it appears that the allied forces entered the French territory. It is, therefore, now upwards of two hundred and sixty years, reckoning from the loss of Calais, since the British, with hostile intent, occupied a portion of ground in what may be called Old France. By Old France we mean France as it was before the accession of the great feudatories of Burgundy, Brittany, &c. to its domain.

That the French are gaining strength in the south of France is evident from the bulletin which was issued by the English government, which states, that on the night of the 12th of October, the French attacked and carried the redoubt in the camp of Sarre, and made one hundred and forty prisoners, and that on the morning of the 13th, the enemy made an attack on the advanced posts of the army of Andalusia. The same bulletin likewise asserts, that

Passage of the Bidassoa.

the French army had been considerably reinforced by bodies of recruits raised by the recent conscriptions*. Of this, however, we shall have occasion to speak more fully hereafter.

The following is an extract from a letter, dated Left Column, camp near Andaye in France, Oct. 9, 1813:

" The passage of the Bidassoa was one of the most gallant feats, and one of the finest sights ever seen. The allied forces entered the stream at the different fords assigned to them, with their muskets slung at their backs, regardless of a galling fire of musketry, with which the enemy peppered them all the time; and in return only looking up occasionally at the Frenchmen, when the bullets rippled the waters near them, with the most perfect contempt and coolness, saying, in a good-humoured way, among themselves, ' only wait a little while, good friends, and we will be with you presently.' In this manner, holding each other's hands, to make their footing more secure, they made their way through the waters, which were almost breast high, till they gained the French bank, where they formed themselves with astonishing quickness, and with the utmost order, as fast as they came up, without waiting for any word of command; and as soon as they were formed moved forward to the several points of attack, which they carried in the most gallant style. Soult, who commanded the French on this occasion, was very conspicuous, being splendidly dressed and mounted, and decorated with all his orders. He was extremely active, but all to no purpose. All that he or his men could do had not the least effect in keeping back ours. Lord Wellington

* This conscription was for two hundred and eighty thousand men, which it seems was readily obeyed.

Activity of sir Thomas Graham.

ton, who attended merely as a spectator, to see the execution of his orders under the direction of general Graham, was dressed in a plain brown great coat. He had the gratification of seeing every thing done to his utmost wishes, without finding it necessary in the least degree to interfere personally. He wished to let sir Thomas Graham *, whose services had been so great at St. Sebastian, have the credit of fixing the British standard on French ground."

The marquis of Wellington continued amazingly active, with the forces under his command, but being now on the French side of the Bidassoa, the French general was likewise on the alert, and by the marquis's despatch, which is dated Vera, October 18, 1813, it appears, that the enemy moved general Paris's division from Oleron to the neighbourhood of St. Jean de Pie de Port, as soon as the left of the allies made its movement on the 7th instant.

On the night of the 12th the enemy attacked and carried the redoubt in the camp of Sarre, which was held by a picket of forty men of the army of reserve of Andalusia, who were taken, as well as one hundred pioneers. After having possession of the redoubt, the enemy made an attack on the morning of the 13th, upon the advanced posts of the army of Andalusia, under the

* Lieutenant-general sir Thomas Graham, after having established himself in France, returned to England on account of ill-health, and was succeeded in his command by sir John Hope, whose expedition to the army was extraordinary; for he dined at Dublin on the 25th of September, sailed from Cork on the 27th, arrived at Corunna on the 2nd of October, joined the head quarters on the 3rd, and tasted victory on French ground on the 7th. Sir Thomas Graham brought to England with him the French flag which was hoisted at the castle of St. Sebastian.

Noble conduct of the Spanish troops.

command of Marischal del Campo Don Pedro Giron, with a view to regain possession of those works which they had lost on the 8th, which they constructed in front of the camp of Sarre. It was at first imagined and reported, that the real attack was on the side of the Hermitage of La Rhume, but it was confined entirely to the advanced posts of the army of Andalusia, and was repulsed by them without difficulty.

“ I had every reason, ” says the noble marquis, “ to be satisfied with the conduct of Marischal del Campo Don P. Giron, and the general staff and other officers and the soldiers under his command, upon this occasion. I had again occasion to observe particularly the steadiness of the regiment of Ordenes, under the command of colonel Hore. Nothing of importance has occurred on any part of the line, but it appears that the enemy have been reinforced by considerable bodies of recruits, raised by the recent conscriptions.” His lordship concludes his despatch by saying, that he had received no reports from Catalonia since he sent his last despatch.

The attention of the marquis of Wellington was now turned towards Pampeluna, and from the distressed state of the garrison, it was expected that it could not be long before it surrendered to the allies. So great, indeed, were the distresses of the town, that it was confidently asserted, that the governor of Pampeluna sent a messenger to the Spanish army, demanding food for their countrymen within the walls, saying, “ that they had no more than sufficient to serve them to the 25th of October.” This request was refused, and the governor was informed, that a French soldier should be put to death for every native who might die of famine after the 26th, if the garrison had rations.

Erroneous prognostications of the French

of Wellington have been so astonishing, that the mind can scarcely keep pace with the rapid motion of events. The reality indeed exceeds all the fictions of romance, and the occurrences of an age are compressed within the period of a month. The noble marquis not only merely entered France, but in one glorious day he overthrew the strong labours of the French. It was supposed by some that lord Wellington would stop to besiege Bayonne, which by its position, as well as by its works, is very strong; but others apprehended that his lordship would advance to Bordeaux. The latter opinion was so prevalent in the country, that dispatches were immediately sent off to Paris, and a decree was instantly made for the formation of two armies of one hundred thousand men each, one for Bourdeau and another for Turin: this decree was dated on the 19th of November; and as Bayonne is only four hundred and twenty-five miles distant from Paris, there is little doubt but the defeat of Soult, and the capture of his posts, must have been known to the French government at the time the decree was issued. Lord Wellington, however, shewed great sagacity in not suffering his plans to transpire, and whether he intended to besiege Bayonne, or proceed toward Bourdeau, he acted with great caution.

We must, however, resume our account of the operations on the French side of the Bidassoa, which were indeed very trifling since the dispatches given above; for the principal part of the country between the Adour and the Nive, and the Nive and the Bidassoa, appear to have operated against any active measures on the part of the allies; and the accounts from France went so far as to say, that lord Wellington had found it necessary to send a great part of his artillery across the Bidassoa, whence it was confidently expected that he would shortly order the

Flattering accounts of the French.

army to return to Spain ; and that for two reasons : first, because the climate at this season of the year, and the incessant rains which fell for some time, had occasioned sickness among his forces, and many of them had died through the inclemency of the weather ; and, secondly, because the French army under marshal Soult was gaining great strength, from the innumerable bodies of conscripts which were continually marching to join him, in bodies of two and three hundred at a time ; from which it was calculated that his army would, in the course of a few days, be increased upwards to twenty thousand men.

In the accounts received at Paris from Pau, dated Nov 27, is the following : " General Harispe has just entered the town of Pau with a strong division of troops, coming from Catalonia. These brave troops, who have grown old under the banners of victory, have been welcomed with cries of *Vive l' Empereur* at St. Gaudens, at Tarber, and on the whole of their route they have been received as on a festival ; every one has been eager to provide them with the best lodgings and food. At Pau we have readily followed this example. The arrival of general Harispe, who is a Basque, has excited a noble enthusiasm in this country, and a crowd of volunteers are come to place themselves under his standards to serve the emperor, and defend their country and their property. This generous ardour has, no doubt, not a little contributed to the retrograde motion of the enemy. Almost all his artillery is repassing the Bidassoa."—Although some part of the above account may be exaggerated, there was, no doubt, truth in some of the particulars ; for, by our accounts, it is said, the army of Gallicia, which has been so long in movement, has arrived at Medina de Pomar on the Ebro, and some strong detachments from the Spanish forces have been sent in the direc-

Lord Wellington's proclamation

tion of Catalonia, which, we apprehend, may have been done in consequence of general Harispe's arrival at Pau

By a letter from a gentleman of the Commissariat, on the accuracy of whose communication we completely rely, it appears, that flags of truce have been frequently passing to and from the British and French head quarters on the Spanish frontiers. Sir George Collier, who had been some time on shore serving with the army, was the bearer of the flag of truce from lord Wellington. He was not, upon any of these occasions, favoured with an interview with marshal Soult, but delivered his communications to one or other of the marshal's aides de-camp. It is said, that the last time he went, the aide-de-camp, who received him, entertained him with a flippant harangue upon the great resources of France, and loudly vaunted that as soon as the new conscripts were completely organized and disciplined, Napoleon would resume his former ascendancy at every point.

Corunna papers to the 19th of November reached London on the night of the 13th of December, and contained the following Proclamation, addressed to the people of France by the marquis of Wellington, on entering the French territory, assuring them of protection for their persons and property, and confirming that promise by the orders subjoined, which documents have not been before published in this country.

Proclamation from Field Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, to the French People

"Upon entering your country, know that I have given the most positive orders (a translation of which is joined to this) to prevent those evils which are the ordinary consequences of the invasion, which you know is the result of

Lord Wellington's orders.

that which your government made into Spain, and of the triumphs of the allied army under my command.

“ You may be certain that I will carry these orders into execution, and I request of you to cause to be arrested, and conveyed to my head-quarters, all those who, contrary to these dispositions, do you any injury. But it is required that you should remain in your houses, and take no part whatever in the operations of the war, of which your country is going to become the theatre.

(Signed)

“ WELLINGTON.”

ORDERS.

“ Although the country which is in front of the army be an hostile one, the general-in-chief anxiously desires that the inhabitants should be well treated, and properly respected, as has hitherto been the case.

“ The officers and soldiers must remember that their nations are at war with France, only because he who is at the head of the government of the French nation, will not permit them to be at peace, and wishes to oblige them to submit to his yoke ; they must not forget that the greatest evils which the enemy has suffered in his shameful invasion of Spain and Portugal, have proceeded from the disorders and cruelties, which the soldiers, authorised, and even encouraged by their chief, committed upon the unfortunate and peaceable inhabitants of the country.

“ It would be inhuman and unworthy of the nations to which the general-in-chief alludes, to revenge that conduct upon the peaceable inhabitants of France, and this vengeance would in every case cause the army evils similar, or even greater, than the enemy has suffered in the Peninsula, would be very opposite to the public interest.

Dissatisfaction of the Spanish

" The same regulations must therefore be observed in the cities and villages of France, as have hitherto been practised in the requisitions and receipts for provisions, which may be drawn from the country, and the commissaries belonging to each army of the different nations will receive from their respective general-in-chief orders relative to the mode of payment for the provisions, and the time within which the payments must be made."

It must be in the recollection of our readers, that general Ballasteros refused, at one period, to act under the orders of lord Wellington, and consequently resigned his command; for which that indefatigable general was arrested, and committed to prison. It appears, however, that his partizans in Spain were extremely dissatisfied, and that disturbances occasionally took place in consequence of the treatment that general received from the Cortes. The following extract may serve to throw some light upon this affair :

Extract of a Letter from Cadiz, Nov. 20, 1813.

" A detachment of the army of Andalusia, consisting of about three thousand men, arrived here yesterday. This force has been judged sufficient to keep in check the populace, who, since the late events, can no longer endure the sight of the English. The officer commanding the detachment is Don Pedro d' Aguilar, an old officer of rank, who has served under Ballasteros.

" This latter is still confined in the fortress of Ceuta, where he stands for the crime of having refused to acknowledge lord Wellington as supreme head.

" Ballasteros is a true Spaniard, who has shewn a decisiveness of character, and who has still numerous friends

Spanish troops ordered to obey none but their own officers.

in Spain, particularly in the Castiles, and in Andalusia. A letter is circulated among the public, from this general, to the president of the Cortes, which has made a great impression on people's minds, and in which is the following passage :

“ After having served the common cause with some success, I am deprived of my liberty ; and yet I cannot be charged but with having refused to disgrace the Spanish character, and not having chosen to submit to the humiliating orders of an Englishman. Shall Spain be like Portugal, only an English colony ? I have too good an opinion of my countrymen, to conceive that they can thus sacrifice their honour and their independence, and submit to the yoke which England desires to impose on them.”

“ They say that it is intended to send General Ballasteros to London.”

That there is a sort of disagreement between the Spaniards and the English appears probable ; for even the French papers take notice of it. By accounts from Bourdeaux, dated December 3, it appears that intelligence had been received, which spake of the misunderstanding that subsisted between the English and the Spaniards. It was likewise asserted that a Madrid Gazette had been received at Bayonne, containing a decree of the Cortes, ordering the Spanish troops to obey only their own generals, and to take no orders from the English commanders. The Spaniards rank apart in the army, and do not mix either with the English or the Portuguese.

The French papers likewise contain letters from the army of Arragon and Catalonia, of which the following are copies .

French Despatches.

Paris, Dec. 10

WAR DEPARTMENT.—ARMY OF ARRAGON AND CATALONIA.

Copy of a Letter to his Excellency the Minister at War, from the Marshal Duke of Albufera, commanding the Army of Arragon and Catalonia

“Barcelona, Nov. 23.

“SIR—I have the honour to submit to your Excellency a copy of a letter from the commandant of Peniscola. The situation of that place is very satisfactory. Its stock of provisions cannot be estimated, because it has been much increased by the successive arrivals of privateers.

“Your Excellency will observe that the garrison of Tortosa had on the 16th a new advantage over the enemy. I have no other information than that of the commandant Bardout, but I believe it correct.

“I have news from Lerida of the 14th, which leave nothing to wish respecting the state of the place, the troops, and provisions.

“I am, &c.

(Signed) “The Marshal Duke of ALBUFERA.”

Letter from M. Bardout Commandant of Peniscola, to General St. Cyr Niegues, Chief of the Etat-Major of the Army of Arragon and Catalonia, Nov. 20.

“Since the 9th we have had two engagements of our posts with the enemy, who was so well received, that he has not fired a shot since. The troops are employed in works useful to the place, which might be dispensed with indeed, but which is prudent to do when there is time.

“On the 16th the garrison of Tortosa made a sally on the side of Amposta, and did much injury to the enemy. On the 17th several waggons with wounded passed La Rappa.

The roads inundated from rain.

The head-quarters, which were at Uldecona, are now at Vinaroy.

“BARDOUT.”

Despatches, of which the following are extracts, were received at earl Bathurst's office, on the 14th of December, from the marquis of Wellington, dated St. Jean de Luz, the 22d and 28th of November;

Nov. 22.

“ The rain which commenced on the 11th instant, continued, almost without interruption, till the 19th at night, and has left the roads and country in such a state as to be at this moment impracticable for any general movement of the army.

“ Lieutenant-general Sir Rowland Hill reconnoitred the enemy's posts at the *tete-de-pont* at Cambó, on the 12th, and again on the 16th ; the enemy withdrew from it on the latter day, having blown up the bridge.

“ Nothing of importance has occurred since, excepting that on the 18th instant the enemy reconnoitred lieutenant-general Sir John Hope's advanced posts, on which occasion brigadier-general Wilson was unfortunately wounded.

“ Marshal Sir William Beresford, on the same day drove the enemy's posts across the bridge of Urdains, and established his there. On the following morning before daylight, the enemy made an attempt to drive them in, and destroy the bridge ; they failed in both attempts ; and the marshal praises the conduct of the ninth Portuguese regiment, under colonel Sutton, in the first operation, and that of the eleventh Caçadores, under colonel Duersbach, in both.

“ My last reports from Catalonia are dated the 3d of November, and nothing of importance had occurred.”

Nov 2d, 1813

" Nothing of importance has occurred since I addressed your lordship on the 22d instant.

" The situation of our line required that the advanced posts of the light division should be pushed more forward than they were, which was effected on the 23d, but the troops having gone rather more forward than was intended, and having got under the fire of the entrenched camp near Bayonne, it was necessary to withdraw them, in doing which some loss, of which I enclose a return, was incurred, and Captain Hobkirk, of the forty third, was made prisoner

" My last reports from Catalonia are of the 18th, a which period no change had taken place "

Return of Killed, Wounded, and Missing of the Army under the Command of his Excellency Field Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, K. G. on the 23d of November, 1813

Total British loss — One lieutenant, one sergeant, fifteen rank and file killed, two lieutenants, nine sergeants, forty five rank and file, wounded, one captain, fourteen rank and file, missing.

Total Portuguese loss — one rank and file killed

The successes of field marshal the marquis of Wellington, although confined within a comparatively small tract of territory, were splendid and of great importance and on the 29th of December, major Hill, aide-de-camp, and nephew to lieutenant-general sir Rowland Hill, arrived with a despatch from his lordship, from which the following is extracted

St. Jean de Luz, Dec. 11. 1813

" Since the enemy's retreat from the Nivelle, they

Sir John Hope wounded.

occupied a position in front of Bayonne, which had been entrenched with great labour since the battle fought at Vittoria in June last.

“ It was impossible to attack the enemy in this position, as long as they remained in force in it.

“ I had determined to pass the Nive immediately after the passage of the Nivelle, but was prevented by the bad state of the roads, and the swelling of all the rivulets occasioned by the fall of rain in the beginning of that month. The enemy were driven from the right bank of the river, and retired towards Bayonne, by the great road of St. Jean Pied de Port. Those posted opposite Cambo were nearly intercepted by the sixth division, and one regiment was driven from the road and obliged to march across the country.

“ On the 10th in the morning, the enemy moved out of the intrenched camp with their whole army, with the exception only of what occupied the works opposite to sir Rowland Hill’s position, and drove in the pickets of the light division, and of sir John Hope’s corps, and made a most desperate attack upon the post of the former at the chateau and church of Arcangues, and upon the advanced posts of the latter, on the high road from Bayonne to St. Jean de Luz, near the mayor’s house of Biaritz. Both attacks were repulsed in the most gallant style by the troops, and sir John Hope’s corps took about five hundred prisoners. “ The brunt of the action with sir John Hope’s advanced post fell upon the first Portuguese brigade, under brigadier-general A. Campbell, and upon major general Robinson’s brigade of the fifth division, which moved up to their support.

“ Sir John Hope received a severe contusion. “ After the action was over, the regiments of Nassau and Frank-

The French attack on Rowland Hill

fort, under the command of colonel Kruse, came over to the posts of major general Ross's brigade of the fourth division, which were formed for the support of the centre

" When the night closed, the enemy were still in large force in front of our posts, on the ground from which they had driven the pickets. They retired, however, during the night, from lieutenant general sir John Hope's front, leaving small posts, which were immediately driven in. They still occupied, in force, the ridge on which the pickets of the light division had stood, and it was obvious that the whole army was still in front of our left, and about three in the afternoon, they again drove in lieutenant general sir John Hope's pickets, and attacked his posts. They were again repulsed with considerable loss.

" The attack was re-commenced on the morning of the 12th with the same want of success, the first division, under major general Howard, having relieved the fifth division, and the enemy discontinued it in the afternoon, and retired entirely within the intrenched camp on that night. They never renewed the attack on the posts of the light division after the 10th.

" The first division, under major general Howard, were not engaged until the 12th, when the enemy's attack was more feeble, but the guards conducted themselves with their usual spirit.

" The enemy having thus failed in all their attacks, with their whole force upon our left, withdrew into their intrenchments, on the night of the 12th, and passed a large force through Buxton, with which, on the morning of 13th, they made a most desperate attack upon lieutenant general sir Rowland Hill.

" In expectation of this attack, I had requested marsh

Return of the allied Loss.

sir W. Beresford to reinforce the lieutenant-general with the sixth division, which crossed the Nive at day-light on that morning ; and I further reinforced him by the fourth division, and two brigades of the third division.

“ The expected arrival of the sixth division gave the lieutenant-general great facility in making his movements ; but the troops under his own immediate command had defeated and repulsed the enemy with immense loss before their arrival. The principal attack having been made along the high road, from Bayonne to St. Jean de Port.

“ Two guns and some prisoners were taken from the enemy, who being beaten at all points, and having suffered considerable loss, were obliged to retire upon their intrenchment.

“ The enemy marched a large body of cavalry across the bridge of the Adour yesterday evening, and retired their force opposite to sir R. Hill this morning towards Bayonne.

The following is a return of the Killed, Wounded, and Missing, of the Army under the Command of his Excellency Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, K. G. in the Operations connected with the Passage of the River Nive, on the 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th, of December, 1813.

Killed.—Two lieutenant-colonels, three majors, nine captains, thirteen lieutenants, four ensigns, one staff, fifteen serjeants, four drummers, five hundred and ninety-nine rank and file, thirteen horses.

Wounded.—Four general staff, eight lieutenant-colonels, fourteen majors, sixty-four captains, eighty-nine lieutenants, forty-five ensigns, nine staff, two hundred and fifteen serjeants, twenty-five drummers, three thousand four hundred and thirty-four rank and file, twenty-one horses.

Desertion from French and British standards.

Missing.—One colonel, two majors, five captains, five lieutenants, three ensigns, one staff, fourteen serjeants, six drummers, four hundred and sixty-seven rank and file, one horse.

Notwithstanding the above success of the allied army, it does not appear that lord Wellington was able to make any advance, and it was strongly suspected that his lordship would not have it in his power to remain long in his position, without suffering dreadful loss from the pestilential nature of the swamps, and the growing force of Soult. His lordship also had been under the necessity of making severe examples of several persons, to repress pillage and devastation.

We have above observed, that two regiments, those of Nassau and Frankfort, deserted from the French, and joined the allies, to the amount of about seventeen hundred men *; but, on the other hand, about twelve hundred of our troops deserted the British standard, and went over to the French.

We have been favoured with the sight of a letter from Passages, of the 11th instant from a gentleman who was an eye-witness of the battle of the 9th, and who states that the ground at Anglet, to which sir John Hope then advanced, was so uncomfortable for the troops,

* The Martial gun-brig arrived on Tuesday, Dec. 20, at Plymouth, having transports under convoy, with the regiments of Nassau and Frankfort, which left Soult and came over to lord Wellington on the 10th inst. These regiments were sent to Holland, that country presenting the shortest course for them to proceed to join the standards of their countrymen on the Rhine.

Battle between Wellington and Soult.

that after having firmly established himself there for the night, he had resolved to retire to his former position at day-break. The writer adds, that the night was wet and comfortless, and the roads in the very worst possible state. We learn from the French accounts that the rain on the following days was excessive ; so that without attributing much to French valour, though, perhaps, they had a share in it, we can easily conceive it possible, that the successes of the 9th may have proved less beneficial in their immediate result, than they at first promised.

Thus have we given an account of the actions, which were fought between the allied army under lord Wellington and the French forces under marshal Soult, from the marquis of Wellington's despatches, and from the French relations received from Bayonne. Lord Wellington's despatches appear to be written with clearness and perspicuity ; and, notwithstanding a series of actions continued for five successive days, we do not find that he mentions the taking of many prisoners, colours, or cannon, as in the battle of Vittoria, but yet that he was always successful ; and, from the French accounts, it would seem, that marshal Soult was as uniformly successful. The French say, that the allies lost ten or twelve thousand men in killed and wounded, and lord Wellington admits his loss, in killed, wounded, and missing, to amount to five thousand and sixty. The French account exaggerates our loss, and our own, perhaps, does not go to the extent it ought. But to enable us properly to appreciate this new achievement of our brave commander, we should bear in mind that an offensive movement on our part occasioned it. The ground we acquired by that offensive movement, small as it is, we retain.

After the battles from the 9th to the 13th of December,

Sir J. Downie's Letter to the Spanish Cortes

lord Wellington proceeded to form regulations for the carrying on of trade in the ports of French Navarre, south of the Adour, to effect which, his lordship published a proclamation on the 18th of December.

The successes of lord Wellington, however, continued, and although the French seemed determined not to allow him to remain long at rest, yet his lordship's efforts appear to have been uniformly attended with success, as may be seen in his despatch, dated St. Jean de Luz, January 9, 1814.

The following admirable document of sir John Downie, containing an address to the Spanish congress, deserves particular attention. It is almost unnecessary to inform the reader that this British officer has acted a conspicuous and most meritorious part in the occurrences of Spain for the last five years. He was, during that time, the enthusiastic admirer, and a strenuous supporter of the cause during its various vicissitudes. His address is drawn up with the bluntness of a soldier and the candour of a friend. It depicts forcibly the gallantry and unbending perseverance of the Spaniards, whilst it laments that proper measures were never adopted to provide those brave men, who had taken up arms, with the necessary clothing and other supplies, indispensable in a state of active warfare.

Translation of a Letter from sir J. Downie, Colonel Commandant of the Legion of Estramadura, to the Spanish Cortes

" **STANDARDS, COMPATRIOTS!**

" Your heroic undertaking against the Tyrant of Europe, conducted me to your standards: since that period I have had the honour to participate with your soldiers the glorious fruits of their enthusiasm, their valour, and

Sir J. Downie's Letter.

their constancy. I admire these heroes beyond description, and adore them as the first spring towards the liberation of the continent: their military conduct is so commendable, that it admits comparison only with themselves. I have seen and observed, with peculiar and continued admiration, in the most adverse as well in the most prosperous times of the glorious insurrection, the Spanish soldier always demonstrate magnanimity, and an unalterable conformity, in the midst of that indigence with which, in these most opposite epochs, he was always surrounded. This Spanish virtue is beyond imitation; and is the more laudable when compared with that apathy and neglect, with which the authorities of the nation have conducted themselves towards the defenders of her independence and her rights.

“ It is singular, that the same sovereign government, who have wished to sustain the national dignity, have not at the same time duly taken care to put in practice the only and indispensible mode of securing it; and that having settled the relative rights, privileges, and duties of the Spanish citizen, in their wise political constitution, they have not also prescribed and put in practice those energetic measures which are calculated to put in the proper place her armed force—the only *appui* of the civil and political existence of the nation, and the most powerful and necessary members of society; knowing that society, under such circumstances, to be filled with men of such various passions.

“ I cannot see without bitterness, that the Spanish soldier yet exists in the extreme of indigence which has not varied; nor can I believe that is compatible with rational principles, or even that it is decorous, or becoming the dignity of the national character. I still see the Spanish

Sir J. Downie's Letter.

soldier on the Pyrenees, without tents, half-clothed, and often not half fed ; but I am filled with tenderness to see him depreciating this species of ingratitude, enduring without complaint his fatigues, marching cheerfully and bravely against the enemy, and gloriously shedding his blood in defence of his country. This citizen, who ought to be the idol of his fellows, has known how to conquer those who would enslave his soil, and now treads victoriously the French territory, with the same magnanimity, but in equal indigence. This patience, under privation, of the Spanish soldier, is the admiration of the allies, who cannot but at the same time observe the neglect of those, to whom he has a just and natural claim to look for protection. It is certain that the proud colossal power of Bonaparte may be said to be destroyed. The peace of Europe, and the independence of her nations, are nearly secured, but it is also certain that the Spanish nation cannot solidly recover these two grand results (due in a great measure to her own heroic impulse,) without presenting to all Europe a formidable force of at least two hundred and fifty thousand men, that she may be enabled to take that respectable place to which she is entitled in the grand congress of the sovereigns, or their representatives, in treating for a general peace. This has been indicated by various individuals of the national cortes, and this should be put in practice, to enable her to meet any insult to which she may be exposed from any other country, for, from not having attended to her own true interest, she may be degraded into the inferior rank of a subaltern nation.

" This force should be organized in all its parts, so as to merit the name of an army amongst surrounding nations, and not left a multitude of assembled patriots, whose some have only thought of to this moment. Establish the

Sir. J. Downie's Letter.

basis of that military discipline, which is so strongly laid down between the nation and the soldier, and put in the most exact practice all those rights and obligations which this contract dictates. With an army of this description, we may secure that peace we so ardently desire : we shall then see respected and obeyed those laws which the 'Fathers of our country' wisely laid down for us in the new political constitution. Then we may dare say, we have acquired sweet liberty and rest, after the labour and sacrifices it has cost us to recover it. But if the new congress do not immediately undertake, and at once with energy apply, the proper measures for such a desirable end—if they do not give the Spanish soldier other *stimuli* than he has in the present day to follow his profession with enthusiasm, we may not obtain that independence and happiness which we aspire to, and sigh for ; and the nation may still remain exposed, after the most heroic sacrifices of her people.

" In the struggle of the most critical epoch of the world, Spain was the first who raised the torch of liberty against tyranny, which from her territory shed its light even to the frozen countries of the north of Europe. Under the influence of the radiant sun of Great Britain, she alone sustained the sacred cause of freedom upon the continent, and for a length of time before any other powerful nation would know the sacrilegious plans of a Corsican proscript.

" This national devotion has no parallel in history—no pen can do due justice to Spain, nor are colours capable of painting her grandeur and heroism ; and is it possible that apathy is to eclipse that glorious immortality due to the nation, and to deprive her of that powerful place to which she is entitled among others ? If the Cortez ex-

Sir J. Downie's Letter.

traordinaries have sustained and obeyed the sacred call of liberty and independence—if they have been able to form and dictate those fundamental laws laid down in the constitution of the monarchy, even amidst the horrid thunders of artillery, and under the bombs of the tyrant, it will indeed be lamentable if the actual cortes (delivered from those almost insurmountable obstacles), do not secure the magnificent national edifice under the existence of a respectable army—the only and most powerful column to make her liberty and independence durable. This is the true and only principle ; and whoever wish to act otherwise (debilitating the energy which so much interests us be they whom they may), either do not know the road to the happiness of their country, or are enemies to themselves.

“ Some of the decrees of the sovereign cortes are, no doubt, directed to bring the army to that perfection of which it is susceptible ; but their efforts we do not yet see, or experience in the smallest degree ; the army is by no means in a state at all conformable to those decisions. The soldier remains as miserable as in the most adverse times, yet always constant ; flying cheerfully and valiantly to the field of honour. But if he be continually neglected and deceived, patience may have its limits, and it may be difficult to say if he will continue these heroic sentiments, especially should a reverse of fortune happen to our actually prosperous state.

“ Although it may be expected that every thing will have a happy termination in our Spain, most of the members of the cortes seem aware that the chief spring to the glories of those nations who fight for liberty against the tyrant, is the grand and respectable state of their armies, and the love which their sovereigns bear towards them :

Sir J. Downie's Letter.

and is not this itself a proof, an unequivocal proof, of the part we have yet to perform, and which is so indispensable that we should verify. Let the sovereign congress ever remember this idea. Perhaps the invasion of the French territory upon which we now tread, might have been even more rapid and glorious, if the duke of Ciudad Rodrigo could, upon some occasions, have exposed against the cold and climate, as well as against the enemy, the valiant, but naked soldiers of the fourth army, and the reserve of Andalusia.

“ Receive, compatriots ! these reflections as a proof of my affection. I feel it a most sacred duty to express them, as an adopted son of the generous Spanish nation. They are the genuine dictates of my conscience, expressed without pomp or parade of language. They are the sentiments of one who has continued cheerfully by your side, in the days of your deepest affliction, as well as in the days of your greatest glory—who is now giving his humble military services to your cause upon French ground—and who has witnessed the sufferings of your soldiers upon the cold Pyrenees, and while driving the enemy from your country. Pray then with me, that these ideas may have the salutary effect I most ardently desire. I am far from belonging to the parties of the Serviles—of the Liberos—or to any party. The happiness of my beloved Spain is my only object; and I give my career in Spain as a testimony, and the best guarantee of my way of thinking and acting.

“ God grant us that répose, and those happy days which should be the recompence of the sacrifices and heroism of the nation !—I have the honour to be, Senors, your sincere compatriot and faithful Spaniard,

(Signed)

“ JOHN DOWNIE.”

Haspar, in France, Dec. 25, 1813.

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The duke of San Carlos arrives at Madrid.

In the present state of affairs, Buonaparte turned his attention to the captive Ferdinand the Seventh and his father Charles. These illustrious personages were to be set at liberty, and to proceed to Spain, on their arrival in which country, and the restoration of either of them to the throne, they were, on an oath previously taken by them, to conclude a separate treaty with him, one of the articles of which treaty contains a stipulation to send the English army out of Spain, and to renew the former political and commercial relations of his kingdoms with France.

The *Vittoria* paper of the 11th of January, 1814, contains the following notice of the arrival of the duke of San Carlos, the bearer of Ferdinand the Seventh's treaty with Bonaparte :

"At Madrid there has arrived the duke of San Carlos, who came as far as Vich escorted by Frenchmen, and brings, we are assured, despatches relative to peace—We have before us a letter from that capital, in which it is stated that the council of state was going to have an extraordinary meeting, at which this said duke and the English ambassador would assist—It adds, we are easy, because nothing can be concluded without the approbation of the cortes."

By a despatch from field marshal the marquis of Wellington, dated St. Jean de Luz, January 23rd, 1811, it appears, that the French withdrew on the 21st, in the morning, all their outposts in front of the intrenched camp at Bayonne, between the Adour, and the left of the Nive; and, at the same time, their troops which had moved upon Bidarray and Baygorey, marched from thence, apparently towards the centre of the army, which had been considerably reinforced, and by letters of the 25th,

The French blow up a bridge.

it appears that Soult had left Bayonne to its garrison of fifteen thousand men, under general Reille, and was himself at Peyrehourade, a small town on the Gave. All operations remained at a stand on account of the season.

By a letter from lord Wellington's Head-quarters, dated 6th February, we are informed, that the weather had changed considerably for the better, and it was supposed that the right and centre of the army would move up the left bank of the Adour, cross that river above the enemy, and turn their left. Our left standing fast to observe any movements from Bayonne, which has been reconnoitred within two miles of the place, and it was ascertained that the French had taken every possible precaution to guard against an attack, by all sorts of field works, independently of the fortress and town itself.

The following is extracted from a despatch from the Marquis of Wellington, which was published in an Extraordinary Gazette on the 20th of March, 1814.

“ On the 14th, lieutenant-general sir Rowland Hill passed the Gave d'Oleron at Villenave, with the light, second, and Portugese divisions, under the command of major-general Charles Baron Alten, lieutenant-general sir William Stewart, and mareschal de Càmpo don Frederick Lecor ; while lieutenant-general sir Henry Clinton passed with the sixth division between Montfort and Laas, and lieutenant-general sir Thomas Picton made demonstrations, with the 3d division, of an intention to attack the enemies' position at the bridge of Sauveterre, which induced the enemy to blow up the bridge.

“ Mareschal de Campo don Pablo Murillo drove in

The British attack the enemy.

the enemy's posts near Naverrens, and blockaded that place.

" Field-marshal sir William Beresford likewise, who, since the movement of sir Rowland Hill on the 14th and 15th, had remained with the fourth and seventh divisions, and colonel Vivian's brigade, in observation on the Lower Bidouze, attacked the enemy on the 23rd in their fortified posts at Hastingues and Oyergave, on the left of the Gave de Pau, and obliged them to retire,

" Sir Rowland Hill and sir Henry Clinton moved towards Orthes, and the great road leading from Sauveterre to that town; and the enemy retired in the night from Sauveterre across the Gave de Pau, and assembled their army near Orthes on the 25th, having destroyed all the bridges on the river.

" Marshal sir W. Beresford carried the village of St. Boes with the fourth division, under lieutenant-general sir Lowry Cole, after an obstinate resistance by the enemy; but the ground was so narrow that the troops could not deploy to attack the heights, notwithstanding the repeated attempts of major-general Ross, and brigadier-general Vasconcello's Portuguese brigade; and it was impossible to turn the enemy by their right, without an excessive extension of our line.

" I therefore so far altered the plan of the action, as to order the immediate advance of the third and sixth divisions, and I moved forward colonel Barnard's brigade of the light division, to attack the left of the height on which the enemy's right stood.

" This attack, led by the 62d regiment, under lieutenant-colonel Colbourne, and supported on their right by major-general Brisbane's and colonel Kean's brigades of the third division, and by simultaneous attacks on the

Desertion of the French.

left by major-general Anson's brigade of the fourth division, and on the right by lieutenant-general sir Thomas Picton, with the remainder of the third division, and the sixth division under lieutenant-general sir Henry Clinton, dislodged the enemy from the heights, and gave us the victory.

" The enemy retired at first in admirable order, taking every advantage of the numerous good positions which the country afforded. The losses, however, which they sustained, and the danger with which they were threatened, accelerated their movements, and the retreat became a flight, their troops being in the utmost confusion.

" We continued the pursuit till it was dusk, and I halted the army in the neighbourhood of Sault de Navailles.

" I cannot estimate the extent of the enemy's loss : we have taken six pieces of cannon and a great many prisoners, the numbers I cannot at present report. The whole country is covered by their dead. Their army was in the utmost confusion when I last saw it passing the heights near Sault de Navailles, and many soldiers had thrown away their arms. The desertion has since been immense.

" We followed the enemy the day after to this place ; and we this day passed the Adour ; marshal sir W. Beresford with the light division, and colonel Vivian's brigade upon Mont de Marsan, where he has taken a very large magazine of provisions.

" Lieutenant general sir Rowland Hill has moved upon Aire, and the advanced posts of the centre are at Cazares.

" The enemy are apparently retiring upon Agen,

. The citadel of Bayonne invested.

and have left open the direct road towards Bourdeaux.

" Meanwhile lieutenant-general sir John Hope, in concert with rear-admiral Penrose, on the 23rd of February, crossed the Adour below Bayonne, and took possession of both banks of the river at its mouth. The vessels destined to form the bridge could not get in till the 24th, when the difficult, and at this season of the year, dangerous operation of bringing them in was effected with a degree of gallantry and skill seldom equalled.

" Three of the enemy's gun-boats were destroyed this day, and a frigate lying in the Adour, received considerable damage from the fire of a battery of eighteen pounders.

" Sir John Hope invested the citadel of Bayonne on the 25th, and Don Manuel Freyre moved forward with the fourth Spanish army. On the 27th, the bridge having been completed, sir John Hope invested the citadel of Bayonne more closely than he had done before; and he attacked the village of St. Etienne, which he carried, having taken a gun and some prisoners from the enemy, so that his posts were within nine hundred yards of the out-works of the place.

" The result of the operations (says lord Wellington) which I have detailed to your lordship is, that Bayonne, St. Jean Pied de Port, and Navarrennes are invested, and the army having passed the Adour, are in possession of all the great communications across the river, after having beaten the enemy, and taken their magazines."

The successes of the marquis of Wellington at the head of the allied English, Spanish, and Portuguese armies, were exceedingly rapid and extensive, as appears

Marshal Beresford enters Bourdeaux.

by the numerous despatches from his lordship, giving a detailed account of the various actions which took place between the contending armies of France, under marshal Soult duke of Dalmatia, and the victorious army which his Lordship has the honour to command. By despatches dated Aire, March the 13th and 14th, we learn, that the allied army reached Bourdeaux, which is within four hundred miles of Paris, and that sir William Beresford, with part of the English army, took possession of that town in the name of Louis the XVIIIth, the inhabitants being friendly to the restoration of the house of Bourbon.

By the despatches just referred to, we have a confirmation of the occupation of Bourdeaux from the marquis of Wellington. The first states that after the lapse of several days, during which the operations were impeded by the effect of the heavy rains, he sent on the 7th major general Fane to take possession of Pau, and on the 8th marshal Beresford to occupy Bourdeaux; himself, with the main body of the army, remaining to take care of the enemy, who had retired by both banks of the Adour towards Tarbes, probably to be joined by detachments from Suchet's army, which left Catalonia the last week in February. This junction his lordship supposes had been effected, the enemy having collected a considerable force in the neighbourhood of Courcez.

The second despatch incloses a private letter from marshal Beresford, dated Bourdeaux, the 12th, which states that the marshal entered the city on that day, having been met at a short distance by the civil authorities and the populace, and received in the city with every demonstration of joy. The magistrates and city guards

Marshal Beresford advances upon Bourdeaux.

took off the eagles and other badges, substituting the white cockade, which had been adopted universally by the people of Bourdeaux. The duke D'Angouleme, who had gone towards Pau, had been sent for express to come to Bourdeaux.

The 12th of March then was to the city of Bourdeaux a glorious epoch. It was said that for a long time the Bordelais had sought an opportunity of throwing off the yoke. At length M. Lynch, a former magistrate in the parliament of Bourdeaux, concerted with M. Tussard de St. Germain, commissioner of his Majesty Louis the Eighteenth, to profit by the first moment the English army arrived in the French territory. The Bordelais were then informed that his royal highness M. the duke of Angouleme had arrived at the army, and entered St. Jean de Luz. The royal council decreed that two deputies should repair to his royal highness to receive his orders and confer with lord Wellington. His lordship promised all necessary succours to support the royalists. M. George Bontemps de Berry was sent to entreat his royal highness to proceed to Bourdeaux. Lord Wellington caused a column to march immediately upon Bourdeaux; which he entrusted to the command of marshal Beresford. When the King's commissioner and M. Lynch were certain of the arrival of the allies, every thing was prepared to receive them in a signal manner. Estafettes were sent to the marshal, and deputies sent off to communicate the wishes of the Bordelais to his royal highness..

As soon as the marshal had arrived at Pont de la Maye, colonel Virian was sent to the mayor to announce to him that the marshal considered himself as entering an allied city, obedient to his majesty Louis the Eighteenth. He

Soult retreats.

immediately received this assurance, and M. Lynch, and the assistants, escorted by a royal guard without uniform, went out to meet the marshal. The white cockade was immediately displayed, the white standard waved upon the tower of St. Michael, and the mayor addressed a speech to the marshal, expressive of the wishes of the Bordelais. Cries of "*Vive le Roi*," repeated and re-echoed, often interrupted the mayor. The marshal repeated the promise made by lord Wellington. The procession then began to the Hotel de Ville ; the people preceded their deliverers in crowds ; cries of "*Vivent les Bourbons ! Honour the English ; long live the mayor,*" succeeded each other without ceasing. The marshal, upon his arrival at the Hotel de Ville, received the assistants to the mayor and the king's commissioner, decorated with the royal scarf, who were presented by the mayor, and the general gave fresh assurances of protection.

The acclamations of the people, however, demanded the prince ; every one wished to see the nephew of the king—every one desired to express his affection for him. At that very moment M. the duke de Guiche arrived, to announce that his royal highness would be at Bourdeaux before three o'clock, and that he would repair in the first place to the cathedral. Thither he did repair, and received the welcome acclamations of the municipality and populace.

By lord Wellington's despatches, it appears, that he began his operations against the French, who had previously retreated from Lembège to Vic Bigorre and Tarbes. When lord Wellington put his forces in motion, marshal Soult retreated before him, but attempted, on the 19th, to make a stand at Vic Bigorre, a small town of three thousand inhabitants, about eleven miles from Tarbes. The

Lord Wellington's despatch.

French rear-guard was driven through this town by sir T. Picton's division. On the following morning (the 20th) Soult assembled his forces in a position, of which Tarbes formed a part. This, which is the chief town of the department of the Hautes Pyrenees, is seated in a fine plain on the upper part of the Adour, and contains seven thousand eight hundred inhabitants. Lord Wellington marched in two columns to attack the positions, and soon succeeded in dislodging the enemy, who fled in all directions. His lordship entered the town, and encamped his army for the night on the Larroze, a small river which rises in the Pyrenees, and falls into the Adour, near Rieule in Armagnac. Tarbes is about seventy miles from Toulouse. Marshal Soult's army, although joined by Suchet, did not exceed thirty thousand men: an army totally inadequate to withstand the advance of the allied troops under the marquis of Wellington.

At length the marquis of Wellington arrived at Toulouse, whither marshal Soult had repaired, where a most obstinate engagement took place between the forces under the command of these celebrated generals, which was the last action fought by these famous commanders. Marshal Soult knew nothing of the counter-revolution in Paris, and consequently did not refuse to engage with his lordship, whose forces were more than double the number of those under the orders of the French commander. The despatch from the noble marquis on this occasion is long: we shall therefore content ourselves with giving the substance of it, and afterwards, as it may be looked upon as the conclusion of our military operations on the continent, make a few reflections.

In the London Gazette Extraordinary of April 25, 1814, is a despatch from the marquis of Wellington.

Soult fortifies Toulouse.

dated from Toulouse, April 12; of which the following is the substance :

“ The continued fall of rain which had impeded the advance of the allied army, had given time to marshal Soult to prepare for the defence of Toulouse, and he had with extraordinary diligence availed himself of the opportunity. The situation of Toulouse is strong. Surrounded on three sides by the Garonne and the celebrated canal of Languedoc, and possessing an ancient wall, the French engineers found it easy to construct *tetes-de-pont*, commanding the approaches by the canal and the river, and to support them by musketry and artillery from the wall. They had besides fortified a commanding height to the eastward with five redoubts; but as the roads from the Arriege to Toulouse had become impracticable for cavalry or artillery, and nearly so for infantry, no alternative remained but to attack them in this formidable position.—It was not until the 8th of April that it became possible to move any part of our army across the Garonne. On that day, the Spanish corps of don Manuel Freyre crossed the right of the river, together with some British hussars, who drove a superior body of the enemy’s cavalry from a village on the small river Ers, which falls into the Garonne some distance below the town. Between this river and the canal of Languedoc were the fortified heights which constituted the chief strength of the enemy’s position. It was therefore resolved, that while these heights should be stormed in front by don Manuel Freyre, marshal Beresford should march up to the Ers, and turn the enemy’s right, and sir Thomas Picton should threaten the *tete-de-pont*, on the canal to the left. These operations on the right of the Garonne were also to be supported by a simultaneous attack of sir Rowland Hill’s on the *tete-de-pont*, formed by

The enemy driven from their posts.

the suburb on the left of that river. The 9th instant elapsed in preparations for these several attacks; but on the 10th the whole plan was carried into full effect: marshal Beresford, with the fourth and sixth divisions, carried the height of Monblanc, and forced his way to the point at which he turned the enemy's right. The Spanish corps of don M. Freyre at the same time moved gallantly forward to the attack in front; but the French troops were here so strongly posted, that they not only repulsed, but pursued the assailants to some distance. The Spaniards, however, both in the attack and retreat, conducted themselves with the utmost steadiness; and the light division being moved up by sir Thomas Picton to their support, they were soon re-formed by the exertions of their generals, and brought back to the attack. Meanwhile marshal Beresford had succeeded in carrying the redoubt which covered the enemy's extreme right, and had established himself on the heights on which the other four redoubts were placed. A short interval of time now succeeded, during which the Spaniards were re-formed, and marshal Beresford's artillery which had been left behind at Monblanc was brought up. As soon as this was effected, the marshal continued his movement along the heights, and stormed the two next redoubts (those which covered the enemy's centre;) the enemy, after having been driven from them, in vain making a desperate effort to regain them. There now remained only the two redoubts on the enemy's left, and these were soon carried by the British troops advancing along the ridge, whilst the Spaniards, at the same time, attacked in front. These were the principal operations. Sir Thomas Picton, however, with the third division, drove the enemy's left within the *tele-de-pont* on the canal; and sir Rowland Hill in like manner forced the

Positions of the Armies.

exterior works of the suburb on the left of the Garonne ; so that, at the close of the day, the French troops were closely hemmed in, the allies being established on three sides of Toulouse, and the road of Carcassone being the only practicable one which was left open. By this road marshal Soult drew off the remainder of his troops in the night of the 11th, and lord Wellington triumphantly entered Toulouse the following morning.

“ The noble marquis does not mention the whole loss of the enemy : he says that they “ left in our hands general D’Harispe, general Burrot, general St. Hilaire, and one thousand six hundred prisoners. One piece of cannon was taken on the field of battle : and others, and large quantities of stores of all descriptions, in the town.”—The loss of the allies was particularly severe. · The killed amounting to five hundred and ninety-five, and the wounded to four thousand and forty-six ! No mention is made of the strength of the contending armies.—“ Lieutenant-colonel Coghlan of the 61st, an officer of great merit and promise, was unfortunately killed in the attack of the heights : major-general Pack was wounded ; but was enabled to remain in the field ; and colonel Douglas of the 8th Portuguese regiment lost his leg.”

“ Lieutenant-general the earl of Dalhousie crossed the Garonne nearly about the time that admiral Penrose entered the river, and pushed the enemy’s parties under general L’Huillier beyond the Dordogne. He then crossed the Dordogne on the 4th, near St. Andre de Cubzac, with a detachment of the troops under his command, with a view to the attack of the fort of Bloye. His lordship found general L’Huillier and general des Barreaux posted near Etauliers, and made his disposition to attack them, when

Couriers intercepted.

they retired, leaving about three hundred prisoners in his hands.

The loss in killed and wounded on both sides was very great.

In the present state of affairs on the continent, and of renewed amity between Great Britain and France, the above account of the sanguinary battle which took place between lord Wellington and marshal Soult, on the 10th of April, 1814, notwithstanding its result, was not very gratifying to the friends of humanity. But it may be accounted for, in some measure, by the following extract from the *Moniteur* of April 18: "Nothing more closely proves how guilty those persons have made themselves who have dared to intercept the orders and despatches of government since the 1st of this month, than the new and useless effusion of blood which took place at Toulouse on the 10th instant. The marshal duke of Dalmatia, notwithstanding the precaution taken by the provisional government, to give him a speedy knowledge of the great events which have restored peace to France and Europe not having received information of them, accepted the battle, and the new wreaths of cypress are joined with fresh laurels. The two armies, so full of esteem, the consequence of equal valour, have again engaged each other, and our troops, after an heroic resistance have evacuated Toulouse."

Thus it appears, that the government of France had taken every measure necessary to convey to the commanders intelligence of the cessation of hostilities between that country and the allies, and of the recall of the Bourbon family to the throne of France; but it also appears, that the couriers were intercepted; by which means two

Intelligence of peace arrives.

very sanguinary actions were fought, the one between lord Wellington and marshal Soult at Toulouse, and the other between sir John Hope and the mayor of Bayonne ; but a few days afterwards marshal Soult sent a letter to lord Wellington, in which he acknowledged the Provisional Government of France, and hostilities ceased between the two armies.

The London Gazette Extraordinary of April 27, 1814, contains a despatch from lord Wellington, and major-general Colville, and major-general Howard, of which the following is the substance :

“ Lord Wellington writes from Toulouse, April 19, and states that colonel Cooke arrived from Paris on the 12th, with information of the great events which had taken place. He was accompanied by colonel St. Simon, sent to inform marshal Soult of those events. The marshal did not at first consider the information so authentic as to induce him to send his submission. He however proposed a suspension of hostilities, to give him time to ascertain what had occurred. This proposition was refused by lord Wellington. However, on the 17th, marshal Soult sent his lordship a letter, acknowledging the provisional government ; and in consequence a suspension of hostilities was finally agreed upon between the allied armies and those under marshals Soult and Suchet.

The letters from generals Colville and Howard relate to the sortie from Bayonne, which took place at three o'clock in the morning of the 14th of April. The enemy made the attack, with great force, on the left and centre of the allied posts at St. Etienne. Major-general Hay commanded the outposts, and was killed shortly after the attack commenced, having just given directions that the church of St. Etienne should be defended to the last.

Cessation of hostilities.

The enemy succeeded in gaining possession of the village, from which, however, he was soon driven. In the centre, after compelling the allied picquets to retire, the enemy was obliged to fall back in turn, and the posts were finally re-occupied. Major-general Stopford was here wounded. It was towards the right that lieutenant-general sir John Hope was taken. In endeavouring to bring up some troops to the support of the picquets, he came unexpectedly in the dark on a party of the enemy, his horse was shot dead and fell upon him, and not being able to disengage himself from under it, he was unfortunately made prisoner. A letter received from him, states that he was wounded in two places, but in neither dangerously. A considerable part of the above operations took place before day-light, which gave the enemy a great advantage from their numbers; but whatever end they might promise themselves, it was completely frustrated. The loss of the enemy must, however, have been severe, as he left many dead behind him, and he was afterwards observed burying a considerable number of men. In regard to prisoners, we had no opportunity of making many, from the facility the enemy possessed of immediately retiring under the guns of their works. All the troops behaved with the greatest gallantry.

It has been confidently asserted, and generally believed, that the commandant at Bayonne looked upon the message of sir John Hope as a *ruse de guerre*, and that he therefore adopted the method he pursued to counteract the plans of the British commander; but so soon as he was fully persuaded of Bonaparte's dethronement, he endeavoured to excuse his want of credence, and was sorry for the effusion of blood.

Lord Wellington's arrival at Dover.

Lord Wellington now repaired to Paris, where he arrived on the 4th of May, and at night a most splendid ball was given at sir Charles Stewart's, at which there were upwards of four hundred persons present; but the chief attraction was lord Wellington. The moment his lordship entered the room, the whole company crowded round him. "I was (says the writer of this account) standing close to lord Wellington when marshal Blucher was presented to him; they bowed and looked at one another for five minutes before they spoke one word; at last, however, a conversation commenced, which lasted about ten minutes. The veteran Platoff by this time had worked his way up to lord Wellington, and was presented to him. He was followed by a number of other officers, all anxious to get a look at the hero. In fine, for some time a complete stop was put to the dancing by the anxiety of the people to see him. His lordship was dressed in a British field-marshall's uniform, with the orders of the Golden Fleece, Garter, Great Cross of Maria Teresa, Tower and Sword, and the Swedish order of the Sword. The emperor of Russia likewise waited on lord Wellington at seven o'clock in the evening, a few minutes after he heard of his arrival."

Thus was the duke of Wellington highly honoured by the people of Paris and the allies. After staying a few days at Paris, the duke of Wellington returned to Spain, to pay his devoirs to Ferdinand VII. who had now arrived at Madrid; and shortly after the noble duke returned to England, where he arrived, and landed at Dover about five o'clock in the morning of the 23d of June.

CHAPTER XV

WE have, in a former chapter, brought our account of the war between the Allies and Bonaparte to the conclusion of an armistice, which was to continue till July, 1813, but which was afterwards prolonged till the 10th of August, when hostilities recommenced ; the immediate cause of which was said to have been the refusal of the French emperor to evacuate the Prussian territories during the period of a congress. This was required by the emperor of Austria as a preliminary, to which, however, the emperor Napoleon returned no answer. In consequence of this, the Austrian declaration of war was issued on the morning of the 11th ; passports were sent to the French ambassadors at Prague ; and the Russian army immediately began to move in different columns towards Bohemia.

The following letter from his excellency the duke of Bassano, minister for foreign affairs, to his serene highness the prince Arch-chancellor, contains a concise yet circumstantial account of the commencement of hostilities :

Dresden, Aug. 27, 6 p. m.

“ Monseigneur,

“ I HAD the honour to write to you yesterday, the 26th, that the Russian, Prussian, and Austrian armies had marched to attack Dresden, under the eyes of their sovereigns, and that they were repulsed at all points.

The Allies threaten Dresden.

“ It will be easily conceived, that the emperor is so much occupied, that it is impossible to give at this moment a detailed relation of the events which have taken place.

“ Hostilities commenced on the 17th; his majesty entered Bohemia on the 19th, occupying the defiles from Rumbourg to Gabel, and having advanced his troops to within twelve leagues of Prague. On the 21st he was in Silesia, beating the Russian and Prussian army of generals Sacken, Langeron, Yorck, and Blucher, and forcing the fine positions of the Bobr.

“ While the enemy still believed his majesty at the bottom of Silesia, he left there a powerful army under the orders of the duke of Tarentum, caused his guards to march ten leagues a day; and arrived at Dresden, which had been threatened for several days with an imminent attack. His majesty entered the city yesterday, at nine in the morning, and immediately made his dispositions.

“ At three in the afternoon the Russian, Prussian, and Austrian armies, commanded by generals Wiltgenstein, Kliest, and Schwartzenberg deployed 150,000 men, marching against the city. All the attacks were repulsed by the old and young guards alone, who covered themselves with glory. The enemy left 4000 dead at the foot of our redoubts. Two thousand men, one colour, and a number of pieces of cannon, were taken.

“ This morning, at four o'clock, the emperor was on the ground; the rain fell in torrents; the marshals the dukes of Ragusa and Belluno passed the bridges with their corps. At eight o'clock our attack began with a very brisk cannonade. The extreme left of the enemy was commanded by the Austrian generals Ignace, Giulay, and Klenau, and separated from the rest of the army by the valley of Plauen. The emperor caused it to be attacked by the marshal duke

French army suffer from bad weather.

of Belluno, and by the cavalry of general Latour Maubourg, under the orders of the king of Naples. Among the trophies of this day, we already count 15,000 men, among whom are field-marshall lieutenant Metsko, two generals of brigade, many superior officers, and 20 pieces of cannon.

" During this time general Vandamme, who had desiled by Koenigstein, made himself master of the heights of Pirna, put himself on horseback on the road of Peterswalde, and made himself master of the desiles of Bohemia, beating 15,000 men, who presented themselves before him, and taking a considerable number of prisoners.

" At this moment the routes of Peterswalde and Freyberg are intercepted; the Russians and Prussians came by the route of Peterswalde, and the Austrians by that of Freyberg.

" Since the affairs at Ulm, the French army was never more assailed by bad weather, and most copious rains. The emperor was exposed to them the whole day. He is re-entering at this moment. The numerous columns of prisopers, the pieces of cannon, and the colours which have been taken, are traversing the city. The inhabitants burst forth into the most lively expressions of joy at the sight of these trophies.

" The duke of Tarentum pushes the remains of the army of Silesia upon Breslau.

" The Duke of BASSANO."

- On the 2nd of September, the French emperor reviewed the 1st corps in Dresden, and conferred the command of it on count Lobau. This corps was composed of the divisions Dumonceau, Philippon, and Teste. It was at

Retreat of the Allies.

first supposed that this corps had left a great number of men, but many returned again.

The duke of Tarentum, to whom the French emperor had left the command of the army of Silesia, made good dispositions for pursuing the allies, and driving them from Jauer: the enemy, say the French accounts, was driven from all his positions: his columns were in full retreat. On the 26th, the duke of Tarentum had taken all his measures to turn him; but in the night between the 26th and 27th, the Bober and all the streams that flow into it overflowed. In less than from seven to eight hours the roads were covered with from three to four feet with water, and all the bridges carried away. The French columns were thus separated from each other by the waters, and those which were to have turned the enemy were not able to arrive. This change of circumstances was quickly perceived by the allies. The duke of Tarentum employed the 28th and 29th in connecting his columns, which had been separated by the inundation. They succeeded in gaining Buntzlau, where the only bridge was, that had not been carried away by the waters of the Bober: but a brigade of general Pulhod's division was not able to arrive there. Instead of endeavouring to throw himself upon the sides of the mountains, the general wished to return upon Loewenberg; where, however, he found himself surrounded by enemies, and the river behind him, so that, after having defended himself with all his means, he was compelled to give way to superior numbers. All those in the two regiments who could swim, saved themselves: these were between seven and eight hundred; the remainder were taken. The enemy has taken from us, in these different affairs from 2000 to 4000 prisoners, and the two eagles of the two regiments, and the cannon belonging to the brigade.

Victory of the Crown Prince

After these circumstances, which had fatigued the army, it, however, successively repassed the Bober, the Queisse, and the Neisse. The emperor found it on the 4th upon the heights of Hochkush. He caused it the same evening to re-attack the enemy, drive him from the heights of Wohlemburg, and pursue him during the whole day of the 5th to Goerlitz. The allies hastily repassed the Neisse and the Queisse, and the French troops took a position upon the heights of Goerlitz, beyond the Neisse. On the 6th and 7th, in the evening, the French emperor returned to Dresden. The council of war of the third corps d'armée condemned to death the general of brigade Jomini, chief of the staff of that corps, who, from the head quarters at Leignitz, deserted to the enemy at the moment of the rupture of the armistice.

We turn now to another scene, the details of a glorious victory obtained by the Crown Prince of Sweden over marshal Ney near Juterboch. These were published in an Extraordinary Gazette on the 23rd of September, as was also an account of another victory obtained by general Blucher on the 29th of August. It seems that, after the defeat of Oudinot at Gross Beeren, Bonaparte did not abandon all hopes of sacking Berlin, he therefore dispatched marshal Ney (Prince of Moskwa) to reinforce Oudinot, and to assume the command of his troops. The remains of the defeated French army had taken shelter in an entrenched camp on the banks of the Elbe, at Wittenberg, at which place marshal Ney joined them. He immediately advanced at the head of 70,000 men, and on the 4th and 5th of September, compelled his opponents to retreat. But early on the morning of the 6th, the Crown Prince advanced, and the fortune of war quickly changed. Ney was totally routed, with the loss of 18,000 men, 12,000

French army surrounded.

of whom were prisoners, 69 pieces of cannon, and 400 ammunition waggons. The rout of this, "the greatest captain of his age," as Bonaparte termed him, was much more complete than that sustained by Oudinot, for he was cut off from the Elbe, by the direct road of Wittenberg, and forced to move by a large circuit on Torgau. On the 8th, Ney was near Duber, about 30 miles east of Torgau, retreating on the latter place, a Saxon fortress, about 50 English miles from Dresden. Thus, by the various accounts transmitted by the allies, it appears, that the armies of Napoleon were defeated on the borders of Silesia and Lusatia by Blucher, on the borders of Bohemia by the allied sovereigns, and on the borders of Saxony by the Crown Prince.

On the 7th of October an Extraordinary Gazette was published, which contained official accounts from the allied armies, to the 13th of September. These detail a succession of manœuvres on the part of the main body, by which it appears, that the utmost efforts of Bonaparte to shut the allies up within the mountains of Bohemia were altogether unavailing. In connection with the plans of the Crown Prince and general Blucher the allies advanced, drove in the French posts, and compelled the active Napoleon to turn his attention towards them. This, in course, enabled the Swedes and Prussians to draw the line of circumvallation round Dresden closer, and likewise hindered the French emperor from detaching such a force as might overpower the active partizans who were harassing his rear, and intercepting his communications with the banks of the Rhine. These manœuvres were perpetually repeated, and on each return to Dresden, Bonaparte found some additional approximation had been effected by the armies which surrounded him.

Empress-queen of France meets the Senate.

Assailed on every side, he no sooner repelled one attack, than he was called upon to defend himself from another. Blucher, who was within twenty miles of Dresden, had lately taken his turn to rouse the active Napoleon, like a lion from his den. That general, who, in his bulletin, was said to be on the 13th on the right bank of the Spree, did not remain inactive. He crossed that river, and advanced in a line extending from Cameus on the right, towards Neustadt on the left, Bischoffswerder being his central point. Bonaparte ordered three corps under Macdonald to debouche beyond Bischoffswerder, when Blucher, says the bulletin, "instantly retreated, and was led fighting to the Spree." General Lauriston entered Neustadt, and Bonaparte returned on the 24th to Dresden.

The situation of the French emperor, however, appeared to be growing daily more desperate, and, as a proof of it, he requested the empress Maria Louisa to demand a new conscription of 280,000 men. But we cannot help thinking that it must have been rather an ungracious task for her to have made this demand, knowing, as she must, that its object was to enable her husband to subdue her parent. And we cannot help indulging the remark, that it is singular that the daughter of the emperor Francis and George the Third should be married to the public enemies of their fathers. Such, however, is the fate of royalty.

Agreeably to the request of the emperor Napoleon, her majesty the empress-queen and regent, set out from the palace of the Tuilleries, at one o'clock on the 7th of October, and repaired to the senate. The great officers of the senate, and twenty-four senators, received her majesty at the outer gate of their palace. The empress-queen and regent, after having reposed herself in the apartments prepared to receive her, repaired to the hall of the sitting;

The Queen Regent addresses the Senate.

and on her arrival all the senators were standing and uncovered. Her majesty ascended the throne placed to the left of that of the emperor; and the ministers and great officers were seated in chairs to the right and left. Her majesty then delivered the following address,

“SENATORS, — The principal powers of Europe, indignant at the pretensions of England, had, last year, united their armies to ours, to obtain the peace of the world, and the re-establishment of the rights of all nations. By the first chances of the war the slumbering passions were awakened; England and Russia drew in Prussia and Austria to join in their cause. Our enemies wished to destroy our allies, to punish them for their fidelity; they wished to carry the war into the bosom of our beautiful country, to avenge the triumphs which led our victorious eagles into the midst of their states. I know better than any one what our people will have to dread, if they suffer themselves to be conquered. Before I ascended the throne to which I have been called by the choice of my august spouse, and the will of my father, I had the greatest opinion of the courage and energy of this great people; this opinion has been every day increased by all that I have seen pass under my eyes. Acquainted for four years past with the most intimate thoughts of my spouse, I know with what sentiments he would be agitated on a degraded throne, and under a crown without glory. Frenchmen, your Emperor, your country, and your honour calls you.”

The prince arch-chancellor having taken the orders of her majesty, gave the word to the minister at war, who mounted the tribune, and read a report addressed to the emperor. The prince arch-chancellor having again

Bonaparte defeated in person.

taken the orders of the empress, gave the word in the name of her majesty, to the count Regnaud, one of the two orators of the council of state, who presented to the senate a *projet* of a *Senatus Consultum*, after having explained the motives of it.

The *projet* of this *Senatus Consultum* had for its object a levy of 280,000 men, of which 120,000 were to be of the classes of 1814, and the preceeding years, in the departments which had not contributed to the last levy of 30,000 men, and 160,000 on the consumption of 1815.

But to return.—The Paris journals acquaint us that Napoleon remained at Dresden so late as the 3rd of October, to which date nothing particular had occurred. But from other sources we learn, that on the 16th and 17th of September, he was defeated in person by the Bohemian army, with the loss of 3000 prisoners, ten pieces of cannon, and a general of division. The following is the official account of this action :

Head Quarters, Töplitz, Sept. 19th.

“ The Emperor Napoleon having united on the 16th inst. a great part of the remains of the armies which had been opposed to general Blucher and the Crown Prince of Sweden, with the 1st, 2nd, and 4th corps d’armée, had advanced at the head of his guards towards Nollendorf. The statements of the prisoners, and more especially the preparations made by the enemy, left no doubt remaining that it was his intention to make a furious operation against Bohemia, under the direction of the Emperor in person. For this purpose, on the 16th, at noon, he caused a column to file off from Nollendorf.

General Kreutzer taken.

“ His serene highness, the commanding prince of Schwartzenburg had given orders that all the advanced posts should fall back into the position at Culm, and there await the enemy. The villages of Arbesau, Delisch, Peinitz, and Johnsdorf, were relinquished to him. A lively cannonade commenced: the corps of the general of artillery, count Colloredo and Meersfield desisted by the way of German Neudorf and Peinitz on the left flank of the enemy, whilst count Von Wittgenstein caused the Prussians, under general Von Ziethen, to advance in masses of infantry on the enemy’s front. The enemy shewed continually more masses of soldiers; and every thing for him depended on his gaining ground to debouch. The cavalry of the guards attacked our batteries with great resolution, whilst the French masses of infantry kept up a murderous fire on all sides; at this important moment a squadron of Hesse Honber hussars, supported by the brave Russian cavalry, cut into the enemy’s ranks with the valour peculiar to themselves. The Austrian infantry followed them with the utmost coolness. The enemy was every where forced back, and driven in the greatest disorder into the heights of Nollendorf. The French general Kreutzer, ten pieces of artillery, and a standard fell into our hands; the number of prisoners taken amounts to more than 2000 men. A thick fog and the darkness of the night preserved the enemy’s columns from unavoidable destruction.

“ It is said, that the emperor Napoleon was in the midst of them; and, according to the reports of the prisoners, he had a horse wounded under him.

“ His royal highness the grand prince Constantine was, during the fight, with the vanguard, and in a con-

tinual shower of bullets. General count Wittgenstein, the duke of Wurtemberg, the generals of artillery, counts Colloredo and Meerfield, general Von Ziethen, lieutenant field-marshall Aloys Von Lichtenstein, the lieutenant-colonels Semony, Lopste, and Zorich, the latter of whom could act with great effect from the commencement of the action; the major Louis Geypert, and captain Drury, had in particular, opportunities of distinguishing themselves.

"The three armies again fought on this day as fraternally united and animated by the same spirit.

"His imperial majesty (Alexander), on the night after the battle, sent to the general of artillery, count Colloredo, the cross of the military order of St. George of the third class, and to the lieutenant field-marshall Aloys, Von Lichtenstein, a golden sword of honour set with diamonds, and an inscription on the same."

The town of Freybourg, near Naumburg, in the rear of Leipsic, was taken by assault by the Austrians, on the 18th of September, when general Bouno, 20 staff and superior officers, 400 mounted hussars, and 220 infantry were made prisoners. Pegau, a town likewise in the rear of Leipsic, was taken by the allies. These were both valuable places, since they were situated to assist the allies in their active operations.

We have before mentioned that the cause of Bonaparte seemed to be on the decline; and the circumstances of the defection of the king of Bavaria from the cause of the emperor Napoleon, was in its consequences equal to a most decisive victory. This important event was communicated to the public by the British minister in a bulletin, of which the following is an extract.

Treaty between Austria and Bavaria.

"Foreign Office, Oct. 28th.

"The hon. Robert Gordon arrived this night with despatches from the earl of Aberdeen, dated Commotan, Oct. 12th, which state that a treaty of alliance and concert between Austria and Bavaria was signed by prince Reuss and general Weede, on the 8th inst.--General Weede, with 35,000 Bavarian troops, is immediately to co-operate with those of Austria; he was already in movement, and was to have 25,000 Austrians under his command."

The Bavarians were immediately directed to march to, and occupy Erfurth, which was in the line of Bonaparte's retreat, supposing him to have entertained the idea of breaking through the *rideau* the allies had formed in his rear. It was not, however, in the addition of force which rendered the junction of Bavaria with the allies an event of the greatest moment; but it tended to shew how greatly the French emperor had fallen from the elevated point he had so long been accustomed to occupy. Of all the German princes, the king of Bavaria owed most to Bonaparte. Besides, Bavaria was the natural ally of France, and had been so for centuries. How powerful then must have been the necessity in the eyes of the Bavarian monarch, which compelled him to dissolve the tie, and desert his benefactor in the hour of danger.

The active and enterprising general Tottenborn captured Bremen; but his operations did not stop there; for he afterwards took Oldenburgh by a *coup-de-main*; and he commanded that all the gun-brigs and boats in the Elbe should proceed to act in concert with his troops in reducing the French forts on the banks of that river.

Difficulties of the French army.

Staade had been already evacuated by the French, and was occupied by the Russians ; and strong columns of the latter were marching against Cuxhaven, Brehmerlee, Blexham, &c. whether some French fugitives had fled for protection.

We must, however, advert to lord Aberdeen's description of the very dangerous situations into which the ambition of Napoleon had once more plunged himself and his army ; and his lordship's statement was completely borne out by every private account which arrived from the continent. We shall insert some extracts from it.

“ *Comotau, Oct. 9, 1813.*

The allied army advanced in a direct line towards Leipzig, near which town the head quarters of prince Schwarzenberg were established. The prince royal and general Blucher having advanced towards the same point the allied forces nearly effected their junction : a *rideau*, therefore, was drawn across that part of Saxony, extending from Dessau to Marienburg, on the Bohemian frontier. In the mean time general Bennigsen, with the corps of Collorredo, drove the enemy from his entrenchments at Gieshubel, and advanced towards Dresden on the great road from Toplitz.

The actual positions and intentions of Bonaparte were entirely unknown. A strong force, not less than fifty thousand men, was opposed to prince Schwarzenberg ; and the general belief was, that Bonaparte himself made a rapid movement with the mass of his army to attack general Blucher, before his junction with the prince royal could be completed. Be this, however, as it may, it was not likely that any partial advantage would materially improve

Bonaparte leaves Dresden.

his prospects, or render the ultimate success of the allies more doubtful.

Prince Schwartzenberg advanced with the main body of his army to Chemnitz and its neighbourhood. Bonaparte left Dresden on the 7th of October, with the king of Saxony and his family, and went to Rochlitz, where his army was chiefly assembled. General Bennigsen advanced to Dresden, where Bonaparte left but a feeble garrison.

By the despatch, dated Oct. 11, that after the brilliant passage of the Elbe by general Blucher, at Elster, and the consequent passage of the same river by the prince royal's army at the points of the Rosslau and Acken, his royal highness the Crown Prince conceived a movement of the whole allied force to the left bank of the Saale would compel the enemy either to risk a general battle, or would be the most effectual mode to embarrass and harass his retreat, if he should determine upon a measure which the combined movements of the armies of Bohemia, Silesia, and of the north of Germany on his flanks, and on all his communications, appeared to render indispensably necessary.

Napoleon, it seems, had manoeuvred from Dresden with a large corps of cavalry on the right, and all his infantry on the left bank of the Elbe, as far as Anchlau: a strong demonstration of twenty or thirty thousand men was made from Torgau towards the point of Elster, on the 8th, where general Blucher passed, probably with a design of menacing that general, and forcing him to repass the river. The bold determination of the allies was not, however, to be arrested by demonstration, and the whole army of Blucher, being now in close communication with that of the Prince Royal, the former marched from Duben on Jesnitz, on the

Positions of the Allied army.

9th, and passed the Mulda; and the Crown Prince concentrated his forces between Zorbig, Radegast, and Bitterfeld. The French appeared now to be collected about Eulenberg and Oschatz, between the Mulda and the Elbe.

On the 10th, general Blucher moved from Jesnitz to Zorbig, and the armies of Silesia and the north of Germany were here assembled; the determination being to pass the Saale, orders were issued in the night, and general Blucher moved with the Silesian army to pass the river at Wettin, bridges being constructed for that purpose.

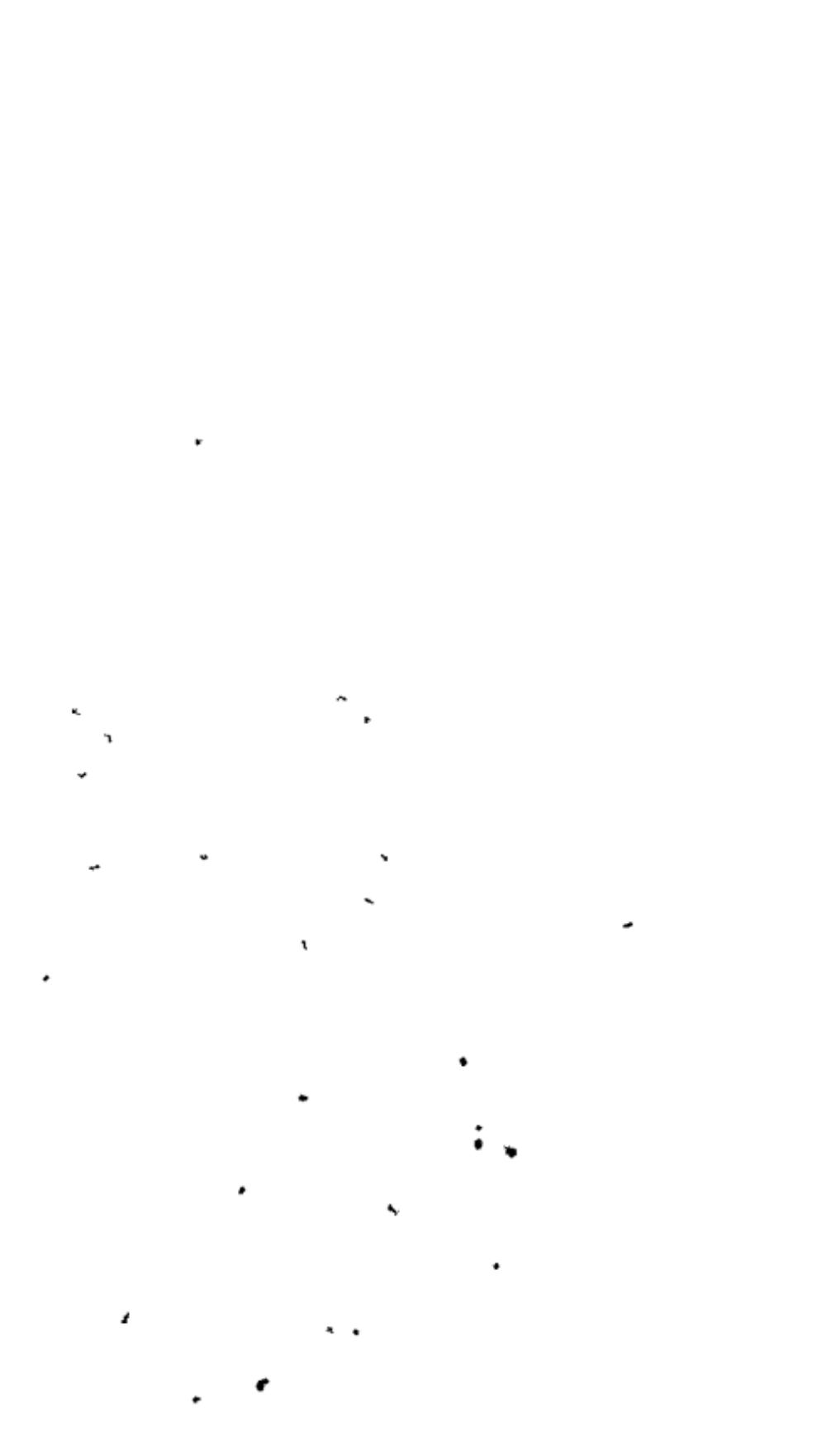
General Bulow, with his corps d'armée, was in like manner to pass at Wettin; general Winzingerode, with the Russians, at Rothenberg; and the Prince Royal, with the Swedes, at Asleben and Beraburg. The whole allied force was then to place itself in order of battle, with its left on the Saale, waiting the further developement of the enemy's movements. General Bulow's corps, and general Winzingerode's corps, after passing the river, were to form the right of the Silesian army, and the Swedes to be in reserve or second line.

Each corps d'armée, says the despatch, is to form in these lines. General Winzingerode's advanced guard at Halle is to be regulated in his movements by the attempts of the enemy, and fall back on the forces passing at Wettin, if he should be attacked by superior numbers, but otherwise to retain Halle as long as possible.

By these bold and decided movements, the points of passage on the Elbe, by which the armies passed, were abandoned, and were to be destroyed, if necessary; and other bridges were erected below Magdeburg, in case of need. The corps of observation, under general Thumen, before Wittenburg, of about six thousand men, in the



Marshal Blucher:



Calculation of the French army.

event of the enemy forcing a passage there for the purpose of *alonjçing* the right bank of the Elbe, and returning by Magdeburg, had orders to retire on general Tauenzien, who, with 10,000 men, was to remain at Dessau, and, according to circumstances, either to manœuvre on the right bank against any possible effort of the enemy, or by forces marches strengthen, in case of need, the armies assembled on the Saale. General Tauenzien, says the despatch, will be assisted by all the Landsturm, and some smaller detached corps are also to join him.

General Platow, with his cossacks, was now at Pegau, general Kleist at Wittgenstein, with the advance of the grand army of Bohemia, at Altenburg; and our communication seemed to be completely established behind the rear of the French army.

Information was still vague of the movement of the enemy; but accounts were brought in on the evening of the 10th, that he was moving troops from the different points of Lutzen and Wurtzen to Leipsic, and it was added that Bonaparte was expected to arrive there on the 10th. His force between Dresden and Leipsic, exclusive of garrisons, may be estimated at 180,000 men: that of the Silesian army at 65,000, and that of the Prince Royal at 60,000 with 600 pieces of artillery; and it is impossible to see a finer army, or one more fully equipped in all its parts.

By the reports received this day, general Platow, with all his cossacks, had arrived at Lutzen, having taken some hundreds of prisoners at Weisenfels, and was in complete communication with the advance of general Woronzoff's cossacks from Halle. Platow announced the assembling of the enemy's army round Leipsic. We have certain

Total defeat of the French.

accounts that the army of Bohemia is now between Altenburg and Chemnitz, and general Bennigsen, with the Austrian division of Colloredo, which had been joined to him, was meditating a demonstration towards Dresden.

General Blucher was not enabled, by the bridge not being complete, to pass at Wettin, but proceeded to Halle, where he passed. General Bulow did not pass this day, but the rest of the allied army was on the left bank of the Saale.

At length the hostile armies had a most dreadful conflict; general Ney had made a feint towards Berlin, but finding his scheme not to answer, he was recalled, and Bonaparte, now sensible of the danger of his situation, being surrounded, prepared to cut his way through the allies. The latter were, however, before hand with him, and on the 16th of October, general Blucher attacked and totally defeated the corps under Ney, Marmont, and Bertrand, who lost 12,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, and 40 pieces of cannon. This victory enabled the Prussian commander to advance close to Leipsic, to which place the French retreated. It seems Bonaparte in person was present at the latter part of this action. His principal attention, however, was attracted to another quarter. The main Bohemian army under prince Schwarzenburg and the allied sovereigns was on the other side of Leipsic, in the direct line of his retreat. Whilst Ney was engaged with Blucher, Napoleon in person made a desperate attack on this army, hoping to break through it and escape; and by bringing up his cavalry under the king of Naples, he did for a moment pierce the centre of the allies. But their reserve coming up soon changed the fortune of the day, and Napoleon was, with immense loss, driven back to

The French totally defeated.

the ground he originally occupied. Sanguinary as these battles proved, they were but preludes to the one which took place on the 18th. By that time the Crown Prince had brought up the whole of his forces, and being in direct communication with prince Schwartzenburg, a combined attack on the French was agreed upon, and promptly put into execution. This grand battle was fought with the desperation which its important results might be expected to give rise to. But at no time does the victory on the part of the allies appear to have been doubtful. Their success was certainly accelerated and rendered more decisive by the desertion of the German auxiliaries, who, in the midst of the action, came over to the allies. The artillery they brought with them was immediately turned upon their former friends, and the Crown Prince, with great presence of mind, headed them in a charge against the very men by whose side they had but a few minutes previous been fighting. The two-and-twenty pieces of cannon thus acquired by the allies arrived at the most opportune moment. Sir Charles Stewart says in his despatch, "our artillery and ammunition were not all forward." The latter indeed was actually expended at the very instant when the Saxons came over to the allies. The defection of their allies was decisive of the fate of the French. Their defeat was complete; their loss being upwards of 40,000 killed, wounded, and prisoners, and 65 pieces of cannon. Leipsic was the point on which they retreated, but here they were not suffered to rest. On the 19th that place was stormed, and 30,000 more prisoners, with immense stores, fell into the hands of the conquerors. Here Napoleon experienced a very narrow escape, having quitted Leipsic but two hours before the Allies entered it.

With the shattered remains of his army, consisting, it was said, of only about 60,000 men, (remaining out of 180,000) retreated on Weissenfels. He was there compelled to turn off, the road on the way to Erfurth being occupied by his enemies.

These dreadful reverses on the part of the French, have not only been attended by the loss of men, but above twenty of their best generals have fallen sacrifices. The London Gazette mentions Regnier, Lauriston, Bertrand, Valary, and Brune, as being killed. In the storming of Leipsic, the poor old king of Saxony, with all his court, fell into the hands of the allies.

The consequences of these successes of the allied forces speedily became fruitful sources of speculation to the politician. Bad as the situation of Bonaparte was in the year 1812, when he fled like a fugitive from Russia, it was comparative happiness to that which the present exhibited shortly after the battle of Leipsic. At that period his army was sacrificed, but when he entered the French territories his enemies were not, as on the present occasion, close at his heels. Besides, he had then Russia alone to combat, but now he had every power of Europe for his enemy.

During the heat of the battle, all the Saxon troops, with four batteries of cannon, passed over to the allies, and took part in the conflict against the French, as well as the Wurtemberg cavalry under general Norman.

The following is a copy of the German bulletin concerning the battle of Leipsic.

Verden, Oct. 24th, 1813.

“ This day, Oct. 24th, the Imperial Russian colonel, baron Von Herbart, arrived here as courier from

Battle between the French and Allies.

Leipsic; at which place the head-quarters of the two emperors, the king of Prussia, the crown prince of Sweden, generals Blucher and Bennigzen, were on the 19th, in consequence of the great victory obtained by the allied armies, over the emperor Napoleon on the same day.

“ Already, on the 16th, the army of general Blucher was engaged, at Groshugal, with the French corps d’armée, which was posted opposite to it. The enemy was overthrown, with the loss of 48 cannon taken.

“ The 17th of October passed without any particular fighting. The Emperor Napoleon had concentrated his forces behind Leipsic. The allied armies marched forward, by the roads of Halle, Dresden, and Altenberg, to a decisive engagement.

“ On the 18th of October, with the rising sun, the emperor Napoleon debouched out of Leipsic, and formed in columns for attack. The battle lasted the whole day, with indescribable obstinacy. Towards evening the French were driven towards Leipsic. A great portion of them garrisoned Leipsic.

“ On the 19th of October, at day break, the king of Saxony (who was with the emperor Napoleon) sent a flag of truce to the emperor of Russia, with a request that he would spare the town; but the emperor of Russia, viewing the flag of truce as the usual feint of the emperor Napoleon to gain time, ordered an immediate assault. The town was fortified with 96 cannon, and in defiance of all opposition, was carried, and the enemy forced to seek safety by flight. The result of this most memora-

Account of the French loss.

ble of all victories was, on the evening of the 20th of October,

"Prisoners: the king of Saxony; the marshals Marmont and Macdonald; generals Regnier, Southam, Bertand, Lauriston, Dombrouski, and ten other generals; general prince Poniatowski drowned; general Grenier dead: marshal Ney wounded; marshal Augereau, according to the account of prisoners, 300 staff-officers prisoners; 25,000 killed and wounded; 35,000 taken; 25,000 sick in the hospitals, taken; 200 cannon, and 800 powder waggons. The whole of the Saxons went over to the allies. A brigade of Saxons, already in the battle of the 18th, took part against the French. The French are retreating in disorder by the roads of Merseberg and Weissenfels, a considerable body of cavalry pursues them, and the allied army moves after them unremittingly. The courier was an eye-witness of the battle and its result. We reckon that Napoleon saved only from 50 to 60,000 men. The horrors of defeat accompany them. Two hundred and fifty thousand men with the emperor and king at their head, pursue the flying army of the enemy. The Bavarian army had much earlier taken the direction of Gotha to cut off the retreat of the French."

Bonaparte, however, continued his retreat, and on the evening of the 9th of November, discharges of artillery announced to the inhabitants of Paris, the return of his imperial majesty.

The successes of the allies, however, we must particularly attend to, and the following despatch from the allied army will shew, still further, how extensive they were.

Frenchloss.

Head-quarters, Mühlhausen, Oct. 28th.

“The crown prince yesterday removed his headquarters to Mühlhausen, to which place he had advanced by Merseberg, Artem, and Sunderhausen.

“The great results of the battle of Leipsic become more and more distinguishable every day. The army of the emperor Napoleon is retreating by forced marches, and every day suffers considerable losses. It has taken its march towards Erfurt, but according to the latest accounts, that place is in the possession of the allies. General Blucher closely follows the enemy at every step, whilst the great army of Bohemia, whose head-quarters were on the 24th at Weimar, is moving on the side of his left wing; and the army of the north of Germany is partly on the side of the right wing, and in part stretches beyond his wing. Generals Yorck and Wasilschikow, whose corps from the van-guard of the army of Silesia, have attacked the enemy's rear guard, near Weissenfels and Freyburg, and taken upwards of 4000 prisoners, 40 pieces of artillery, and a number of ammunition and baggage waggons. General Bubua has taken 600 prisoners from the imperial guards at Buttstedt; and general Bennigsen, who marched by the way of Bibro to Rustenburg, has found a great number of stragglers and deserted cannon and ammunition waggons, all along the road. On the road to Erfurt, the emperor Napoleon himself gave orders to blow up more than 600 powder waggons.

“Colonel Chrapowitzky took possession of the city of Gotha, on the 22d, where he made prisoners the French minister Baron de St. Aymon, 73 officers, and 900 men. He blew up 50 powder-waggons. He then joined at

Positions of the Allies.

Molschleben; with general Ilowaisky, who had been detached from the grand army to get round the French army. Colonel Benkendorf at the same time disturbed the enemy on the whole of his march to Erfurt: was continually skirmishing with the cavalry of general Sebastiani, and took a number of prisoners. General Czerniachoff to whose corps the aforesaid partizans belong, has marched to Eisenach, to be beforehand with the head of the enemy's column.

"On the 19th the emperor Napoleon had his night quarters at Mark Raustadt; on the 20th at Weissenfels; the 21st at Eckartsberge; early on the 23d he was at Erfurt, from whence he went to Gotha. Intercepted letters state, that the high roads in the whole neighbourhood were covered, and as it were, sown with numbers of runaways, without arms or clothing.

"Marshal St. Cyr has made a movement from Dresden towards Torgau, probably with the intent of drawing the garrisons of that fortress, and of Wittenberg, to his corps, to reach Magdeburg, and from thence retreat to France. Several considerable corps d'armée are advancing from all sides towards each other, and joining to engage him, and to cut him off. General Tauenzien is in the vicinity of Rosslau, and will draw the corps of general Von Hirschfeld and Von Thumen to his own. General count Tauenzien follows the movements of General St. Cyr, and general Bennigsen, whose army had already joined that of the crown prince, will cause the corps of general Doktoroff to take the same direction, and will take on himself the command of all the Russian and Prussian troops which are destined to act against the enemy's corps. The corps of general Stroganoff will join the army of the

Total loss of the Allied army.

Crown Prince. General count Walmoden observes the motions of general Davoust's army, who most probably will no longer delay his retreat.

" The total loss of the allied army of the north of Germany, in the battle of Leipsic, does not exceed from two to 3000 men in killed and wounded. That of general count de Langeron has been more considerable. This general gives the greatest praise to the brave behaviour of generals Koptzewitsch, the count de St. Priest, and general Rondzewitsch, as likewise to all the officers and soldiers under his command.

" In the battle of the 18th of October, the lieutenant-general sir C. Stewart himself planted the English rockets in the midst of the briskest fire, and voluntarily undertook the performance of several of his royal highness's orders, which he executed to the entire satisfaction of the Crown Prince. Generals Tawast and Lowenhielm have distinguished themselves. The first brought up two batteries of 12 cannon to a point which was very briskly pressed by the enemy. And thereby contributed to secure this flank of the army. General Suremain himself directed the Swedish artillery, which fired on the gate of Leipsic, and afterwards on the streets of that city. The cavalry of general Winzingerode is pushed forward as far as Vach, and follows the enemy's motions, who appears in part to take the direction of Wetzlar. This general shewed the same talents and bravery in the battles of Leipsic, of which he had before given so many proofs.

The Russian infantry have sustained their ancient fame, by a steadiness which always distinguishes them. Generals Worouzoff, Laptieff, Harpe, and Wonitsoh, have

Position of the Allied army.

by their conduct, given his royal highness the highest satisfaction."

The following account of the defeat of the French at Hanau, by the Bavarians, whose king had joined the allies under general Wrede, is copied from the supplement to the Frankfort gazette, of the 4th of November.

"Head-Quarters, Frankfort, Nov. 3, 1813

"After the capture of Wurtzburg, the combined Austrian and Bavarian army directed its march on Hanau, in order to encounter the grand French army, which was effecting its retreat by that place. On the 29th of October, our advanced guard encountered the enemy between Rottenbach and Gelnhausen; and after a severe combat, the general of division, de la Motte, took from him two cannon, and four thousand prisoners, among which were two generals, and one hundred and fifty officers.

"The 30th, in the morning, the general-in-chief, count de Wrede, made a reconnaissance, from which it was positively ascertained that the enemy had still from sixty to eighty thousand men. In consequence of the detachments which the combined army had made, it had only thirty thousand men in front of Hanau: and the general-in-chief, who, with forces so unequal, could not oppose the project of the enemy to effect his retreat by the road to Frankfort determined, at least, to render that operation as difficult as possible. In consequence, he placed the combined army before Hanau, the right wing leaning upon the Renzing, and the left a *cheval* upon

Battle between the French and Allies.

the roads which lead from Gelnhausen to Frankfurt.

“ The advanced guard had orders to retire into the position of the army, which movement general de Carlotta executed with the greatest regularity. On the left wing of the combined army, in the plain between the town of Hanau and the wood of Lampner, several batteries had been placed to receive the enemy when he should debouch. The greatest part of the cavalry had also been posted there, to prevent, as much as possible, the enemy from forming.

“ On the 30th, at 11 o'clock in the morning, the enemy advanced upon the road, in heavy columns, whilst their tirailleurs passed through the wood. One hundred and eighty pieces of cannon were brought forward to oblige the allied army to give way. The emperor Napoleon made every effort to attain that object, but in vain. The allied army, with heroic bravery, kept possession of the field of battle until night. The heavy charges of cavalry on the left wing, and all the attacks upon the right, were repulsed. The Bavarian general, count Bekero, with his division, particularly contributed, by the most glorious firmness, to this success.

“ The enemy had suffered considerable loss, particularly in his old guard. The object of the commander, to impede the retreat of the enemy was accomplished; and in the night, he withdrew his left wing behind Hanau, in order not to expose it without necessity, as well as to enable him to renew the combat on the following day.

“ The enemy commenced his retreat. In order to cover it, he attacked Hanau by assault, which was occu-

Hanau taken.

pied by the Austrian brigade de Dimar; several of his attempts were fruitless; and he was obliged to content himself with throwing some shells into the town; this fire, however, did but little damage during the night.

" In order to spare the town, and prevent the renewal of the bombardment, the general-in-chief withdrew the garrison on the 31st of October, at three in the morning. The French, however, on their entry into Hanau began to pillage, and drive out the inhabitants who were occupied in extinguishing the fire; the general-in-chief resolved to prevent the destruction of the town, and caused it to be retaken at two o'clock in the afternoon of the same day. The general accompanied by his suite, and with the Austrian general de Gappert, at the head of a column of grenadiers, and Austrian chasseurs, directed the assault in person, which took place with the greatest regularity. In half an hour the town was taken, but the commander-in-chief was mortally wounded. This irreparable loss for the allied army, incensed the troops to a degree, which rendered it no longer possible to restrain them: every Frenchman that could be found in the city was bayoneted. The enemy posted themselves beyond the gates, upon the bridge of the Renzing, but in spite of the most spirited resistance, he was immediately driven from his position, and the next morning he completely effected his retreat. The allied army is in pursuit of him.

" The troops of the combined army vied with each other, in giving proofs of the most distinguished valour. Their loss is comparatively inconsiderable; it amounts in the total to 7000 killed, wounded, and comprising some

Bulletin from the Crown Prince.

missing ; the army has lost neither colours nor cannon ; the enemy, on the contrary, have left upon the field of battle 15,000 men, killed and wounded ; the greatest part of the latter have perished in the wood of Lampner ; the rapidity with which the enemy effected his retreat not having permitted him to carry them off. The road from Hanau to Frankfort is covered with dead bodies, dead horses, and dismounted ammunition waggons ; and proves the disorder in which the remains of the grand French army fled. Fugitives are taken upon all the roads, and besides those already mentioned, 15,000 prisoners have recently been brought in : their numbers augment every instant. Among these prisoners are found the generals Morsell and Avesani, and 280 officers.

“ FRESNEL.”

On the 16th of November, the emperor of Austria, accompanied by the emperor Alexander, and the king of Prussia, entered Frankfort in great state, with the restoration of his titles and power as emperor of Germany.

As a further corroboration of the successes of the allies, we insert a transcript of the bulletin of the Crown Prince, dated,

Head-quarters, at Hanover, Nov. 10, 1813.

“ The Prince Royal has transferred his head-quarters to Hanover, after having marched through Gottingen, Eimbeck, and Eltzi.

The emperor Napoleon has repassed the Rhine at Mentz ; he left the roads covered with dead and dying. These sad irrefragable testimonies of his defeats have indicated to the allied armies the route which they had to pursue : Hanau, in fine, has become to Napoleon a new

Bonaparte's body-guard attacked.

Beresyna. It is only to the heroism of his soldiers, and the talents of his generals, that he owed his safety.

" General Czernischeff, who constantly formed the advanced guard of the French army during its retreat towards the Rhine, greatly contributed to the result of the battle of Hanau. That general harassed the enemy during the whole of the 30th of October; and having learned, on the 31st, that a corps of 10,000 cavalry was escorting the emperor Napoleon, he resolved to charge them with five regiments of Cossacks, in which he succeeded even beyond his hopes, for he several times overthrew the enemy, who was compelled to retire under the fire of his cannon, and took from him 400 prisoners.

" This general, from Erfurt to the banks of the Rhine, has been incessantly a-head of Napoleon; sometimes attacking his advanced guard, at other times retarding his march by blowing up the bridges, cutting up the roads, or throwing up abatis. These operations, which the emperor Napoleon affects to consider as an unfair mode of war, because they are pernicious to him, compelled him to engage in many combats, in which general Czernischeff took 4000 prisoners, including two colonels, and thirty other officers. The general's division has always acted as the flying corps of the north of Germany, of that army which Napoleon found at Gros Beuren, at Dennewitz, and at Leipsic.

" Marshal Davoust still occupies his old position on the Stecknitz, and can no longer effect his retreat to France.

" The army recovers from its fatigues, and is repairing its clothing and equipage.

" The regency of the electorate of Hanover has been

Reasons for the Allies combining against Bonaparte.

re-established, and the enemy now occupies on the Lower Elbe only Harburg, Stade, and the small fort of Hope: but it may be presumed, that he cannot long defend them. The inhabitants of all classes have displayed at Hanover, and other places of the electorate, proofs of the most touching affection for their sovereign. The Prince Royal, whose fortune it formerly was to command them as an enemy's general, has received with sensibility, the marks of recollection and acknowledgment, which they have given him, for the manner in which he acted towards them.

“ The head-quarters of the allied army were on the 5th at Frankfort. Thus, then, the unheard-of efforts which France has made in 1813, have had the same results as those she made in 1812. The French legions, which caused the world to tremble, are retiring, and seeking safety behind the Rhine, the natural frontier of France, and which would be still a barrier of iron, had not Napoleon wished to subjugate all nations, and to ravish from them their country. Although these limits appear fixed by nature, the Russian army presents itself before them, because Napoleon went to seek the Russians at Moscow; the Prussian army appears before them, because, in breach of his sworn faith, Napoleon still retains the fortresses of that monarchy; the army of Austria appears before them, because she has insults to revenge, and because she recollects that, after the peace of Presburg, the title of emperor of Germany was torn from her supreme chief; if the Swedes are there also, it is because, amid profound peace, and in violation of the most solemn treaties, Napoleon treacherously surprised them at Stralsund, and insulted them at Stockholm.

“ The allies regret the misfortunes of the French; they

Counter-revolution in Holland.

lament the calamities which the war brings in its train; and far from being dazzled, like Napoleon, by the success with which Providence has favoured their arms, they are ardently desirous of peace. All nations sigh for that boon of Heaven, and Napoleon, Napoleon alone, has hitherto placed himself in opposition to the happiness of the world. Hence all the princes, lately his allies, hasten to abjure the ties which connected them with him; even those whose states had been aggrandized in consequence of his power, or his influence, renounce their aggrandizement and his pretended friendship."

In consequence of the successes over the emperor Napoleon, Holland was liberated from the French yoke. For twenty years Holland had been subjugated by the French; and during that period the Dutch suffered every insult, and every species of privation. The day of retribution, however, at length arrived; and the victory of Leipsic accomplished the deliverance of Holland. It appears, that as soon as the retreat of the French across the Rhine was ascertained, a number of the most respectable citizens of Amsterdam met, and concerted the plan of a counter-revolution. To this measure but little opposition was apprehended on the part of the enemy, as almost all the French troops were drafted out of the country, immediately after the disasters at Leipsic. A few Douaniers only were left, and these of course were not very ambitious of appearing. Every thing, therefore, being prepared, on Monday, the 14th of November, the Orange colours, with the old words of *Orange Boten*, with orange upon them, were displayed at Amsterdam. This was the signal. The people rose in a body. No cries were heard

Revolution in Holland.

but those which signified their intention to resume their ancient freedom, and their ancient attachments ; *Independence and the House of Orange!* Rotterdam, Utrecht, the Hague, Leyden, and other towns, immediately followed the example of Amsterdam. On the 19th the Orange flag was hoisted with great solemnity at Rotterdam. Such indeed was the alarm of the French, that they evacuated every strong place except Gorcum ; and shortly afterwards the whole of Holland was in the hands of the Dutch patriots.

The French armies met with the utmost disasters, and were overcome in all directions by the forces of the allied sovereigns. The emperor Napoleon left his army, and repaired to Paris in the month of November, where he immediately met his council and proceeded to business. A proclamation was forthwith published, demanding pecuniary assistance, and three hundred thousand conscripts.

By two bulletins from the Crown Prince of Sweden it appears that the whole of the dutchy of Holstein, with the exception of the fortresses of Gluckstadt and Reudsburg, was in the possession of that warrior. In the latter of these places it seems the Danish army had taken refuge, after being cut off from marshal Davoust's corps, and had been defeated in two actions by general Walmoden's, and by the Swedish forces. Reudsburg, however, was shortly after surrounded, and the Danish army cut off from all hope of succour. At the solicitation of the Danes, the crown prince granted them an armistice of fourteen days, before the expiration of which it was expected that the Danish monarch would dissolve his connection with the French emperor. By the terms of the

Bonaparte wishes for Peace.

armistice, the whole of Holstein, and that part of Sleswig bordering on the Eyder, were to remain in possession of the allies; and the Danish army in Reudsburg was to remain unmolested; but it was to receive provisions only through the country occupied by the allied troops; they were to make no addition to the existing works of the place.

In consequence of the disasters sustained by the French armies, and this almost compleat overthrow, together with the desertion of several of the French monarch's allies, negociations for peace were set on foot, and in the sitting of the Conservative Senate on the 27th of December, 1813, it was said in the report, "The emperor perceived that it was time to order the French to evacuate Germany. He returned with them, fighting at almost every step, and on the narrow route where so many open defections and silent treacheries confined his progress and his motions, new trophies marked his return. We followed him with some uneasiness in the midst of so many obstacles, over which he alone could triumph. With joy we saw him return to his frontiers, not with his accustomed good fortune, but not without heroism and without glory. Having returned to his capital, he turned his eyes from those fields of battle where the world had admired him for fifteen years; he desired peace, and as soon as the hope of a negociation seemed possible, he hastened to seize it. The events of the war led the baron de St. Aignan to the head-quarters of the allied powers. There he saw the Austrian minister, prince Metternich, and the Russian minister count Nesselrode. Both, in the name of their courts, laid before him, in a confidential

the basis of a general pacification.

The Allies pass the Rhine.

The English ambassador, lord Aberdeen, was present at this conference. Baron St. Aignan, being desired to acquaint his court with all he had heard, faithfully acquitted himself of this commission. Though France had a right to hope for other proposals, the emperor sacrificed every thing to his sincere wish for peace. He caused the duke of Bassano to write to prince Metternich, that he admitted, as the basis of negociation, the general principle contained in the confidential report of M. de St. Aignan. After some time came the declaration of the allied powers, which certainly spake in a moderate tone."

The negociation was shortly after broken off, and on the 20th of December, the grand army of the allies broke up from Friburg, and commenced the passage of the Rhine, the natural boundary of France. They crossed the river at several different points, principally at Basle, Remfeldt, and Stein; at none of which did they experience any resistance. The allied armies advanced in all directions towards the frontiers of France, and entered within its boundaries. Even the republic of Geneva shook off the French yoke; and the Paris papers give a very curious account of this event; "*If* the commandant had not been struck with apoplexy—*if* the prefect had done his duty—and *if* the second in command had not ran away—it would not have happened." Geneva was taken possession of by count Bubna.

The French emperor who had joined his army, was defeated in a general action, by only a part of the allied army. From Brienne, the field of battle, he retreated upwards of forty miles, his head-quarters being on the

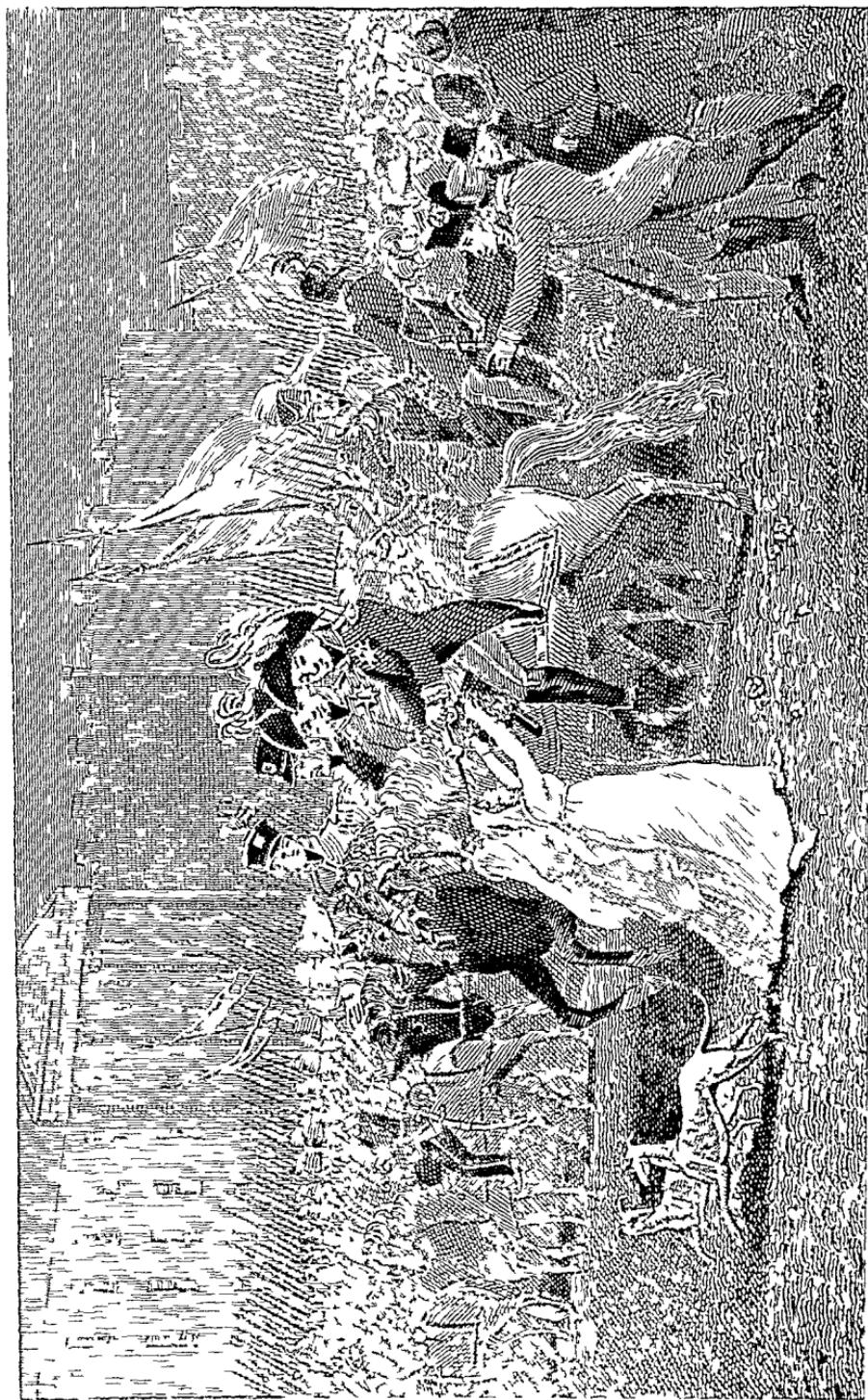
The Allies enter Paris

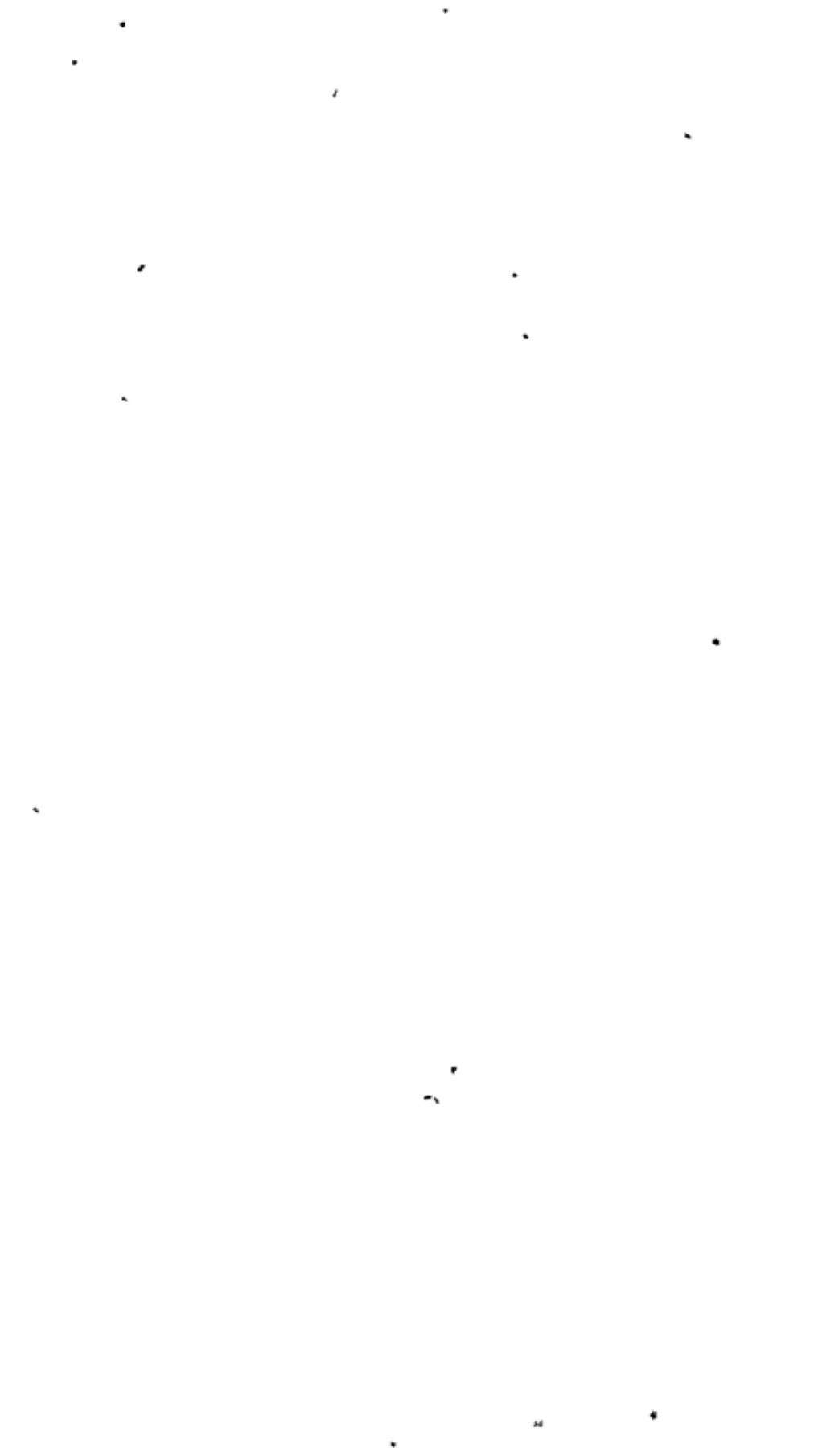
7th of February, 1814, at Nogent sur Seine, scarcely 50 miles from Paris.

The French emperor advanced upon a part of marshal Blucher's army, who were advancing upon Paris, and took about six thousand prisoners. He then left Marmont to watch Blucher, whilst he proceeded against prince Schwartzenburg, whose advanced posts in the interim, had got as near Paris as Fontainbleau. The allies being once separated, Bonaparte determined to keep them so. By a succession of attacks he compelled the main army to retire successively to Sena, Nogent, and ultimately to Troyes. That city was invested on the 23rd of February, and on the retreat of the Austrians was taken possession of by the French the next day. When the French entered Troyes, the Austrian field-marshal sent to demand an armistice; but the motives for this step did not appear, for, even according to the French accounts, no action of a decisive nature had taken place since the actions with Blucher above noticed. This proposal for an armistice, however, came to nothing.

The allies continued to advance, and in every action they were amazingly successful: but we regret that our limits will not allow us to enter into the particulars of those glorious victories, which eventually were the means of dethroning Napoleon, and occasioning his exile.

The emperor Alexander, with the king of Prussia, marched into Paris on the morning of the 31st of March, where they were received by all ranks of the population with the warmest acclamations. The windows of the best houses were filled with well-dressed persons waving white handkerchiefs and clapping their hands; the popu-





Great joy of the Parisians.

lace intermixed with many of the superior class, were in the streets, pressing forward to see the emperor, and to endeavour to touch his horse. The general cry was, "Vive l'empereur Alexandre," "Vive notre Liberateur," "Vive le Roi de Prusse." Very many persons appeared with white cockades, and there was a considerable cry of "Vive Louis XVIII," "Vive les Bourbons," which gradually increased. Their imperial and royal highnesses proceeded to the Champs Elysees, where a great part of the army passed in review before them, and, as usual, in the most exact order. His imperial majesty was lodged in the house of M. Talleyrand, Prince of Benevento.

The following is a copy of the second London Gazette Extraordinary, published April 9th, 1814.

Foreign Office, April 9th, 1814. 8 p. m.

"Despatches have this day been received at this office, from general lord viscount Cathcart, K. T. announcing the abdication of the crown of France and Italy, by Napoleon Bonaparte, in terms of which the following is a translation.

"The allied powers having proclaimed that the emperor Napoleon was the only obstacle to the re-establishment of the peace of Europe, the emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he renounces for himself and his heirs, the thrones of France and Italy, and that there is no personal sacrifice, even that of life, which he is not ready to make to the interests of France."

"Dated at the palace of Fountainbleau, April, 6, 1814."

Bonaparte sent to Elba.

The emperor Alexander, thinking it indecorous that Bonaparte should remain at Fontainbleau, and occupy one of the royal seats, whilst Monsieur took possession of the capital in his brother's name, sent him off with an escort of two thousand Cossacks, commanded by count Orloff, with orders not to lose sight of him, until he should have reached the Island of Elba, where some of them were to continue to guard him.

By the treaty which assigned Elba as the place of Napoleon's future residence, he was recognized as a sovereign in his own right. His flag was to be respected; and, the Island of Elba was secured to him in perpetuity. The allies pledged themselves to the maintenance of the treaty in all its parts, upon the implied understanding, that Bonaparte should also abide by the stipulations into which he had entered. While he was, however, contemplated by the treaty, as an independent sovereign, he was practically treated as a *prisoner of war*.

Bonaparte at Elba.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE deportment of Bonaparté during his residence at Elba, forms an interesting part of his singular and eventful life. We are naturally curious to know, how such a character will develop itself in new, and untried circumstances; calculated to elicit the nature and extent of his mental resources. The following curious account from the pen of a barrister, may be relied upon as authentic.

Extract of a Letter from Porto Ferrajo, in Elba, dated in September, 1814.

“ On the 4th day after my arrival, I issued from my lodging, and inquired, as usual, if the Emperor was yet returned.* Yes, he landed last night, at nine o’clock. He seldom makes his appearance abroad before four o’clock in the evening. At that hour I went up to the Palace, mounted upon the terrace, and in spite of its being forbidden ground, made good my station, by beginning immediately to chat to the grenadiers on duty, about their battles, about Paris, and the Palais-Royal, which recollection drew sighs from the rugged warriors; about politics, and the glorious achievements of the great Napoleon. The imperial guardsmen are really noble fellows, and nearly gentlemen in their deport-

* He had been visiting a contiguous Island.

Description of Bonaparte

ment. They have fine pay, wear powder, dress showily and drink up all the good wine in the Island. They were very curious about the Congress, and demanded if there was any chance of the Emperor's going to live at Parma. I asked them if they were not content where they were; they said the people of the Island were villainous set, but they were content, because they were with *him*. During our chat, an officer passed by, and asked what I wanted. The answer was prompt: "Un Anglois," and "curiosity to see the Emperor." He scowled and departed. It is an error to suppose that Bonaparte and his people overflow at present with kindness to the English; he shows no extraordinary attention to them; and those that surround him are mostly of a spirit very hostile to the name of England. Bonaparte was visiting his Mother, and, after waiting an hour in a violent sun, upon a sign, the guards flew to arms in the twinkling of an eye, the drums beat up, three officers advanced towards Madame Mere's house, with all the marks of zeal and devotion imaginable, and presently the once mighty Lord of the continent made his appearance. He but little resembles the notion I had of him, or any other man I ever saw. He is the squarest figure, I think, I ever recollect to have seen, and extremely corpulent. His face is a perfect square, from the effects of fat, and as he has no whiskers, his chops are thrown more into relief. This description, joined to his odd little three-cornered cocked-hat, and very plain clothes, would certainly give him the appearance of a vulgar person, if the impression was not counteracted by his erect soldierly carriage, and the peculiar manner of his walking, which is confident, theatrical, and even a little *russian-like*; for he stamps the ground every

His dress and manners.

step, and at the same time twists his body a little. He was dressed that day in a green coat turned up with a dirty white, buttoned with one button across the breast, single-breasted like a Quaker's, no embroidery, no epaulets, but lying quite close every where, with cassimere breeches and waistcoat, and white cotton stockings. His neck is short, his shoulders very broad, and his chest open. He had to mount upon the terrace by a wooden board, thrown negligently therefor the purpose, and an officer placed himself behind it, uncovered, like all the rest, and in the posture of one of the patients at the game of leap-frog. The emperor laid hold of his shoulders, and so helped himself up, without saying one word, or even looking at the man. Two paces after he was so near me, that I might have pinched his nose, had I been so disposed, but I thought it better not. His features, I then saw, are remarkably masculine, regular, and well formed. He seemed in good humour, and had more of a leer than a smile upon his mouth, which, notwithstanding a beautiful set of teeth, could not conceal that expression, which men immoderately exalted in their own opinion of themselves, generally carry about that feature. His skin is coarse and weather-beaten, though quite unwrinkled; and his colour, bad and sun-burnt, would spoil his handsome features, if they were not already altered by fat. His countenance is not of that pensive meditating cast, which his picture gives him; but in revenge, his eyes possess a natural and unaffected fierceness, the most extraordinary I ever beheld. They are full, bright, and of a brassy colour. As soon as he was come upon the terrace, he directly looked at me, and continued to do so as long as it was possible, and his stare is by far the most determined and intense I ever expe-

His occupations at Elba

rienced. This time, however, curiosity made me a match, and I vanquished him. It is when he regards you, that you mark the singular expression of his eyes. No frown—no ill humour—no affectation of appearing terrible, but the genuine expression of that iron, inexorable temper, upon which any drop of the milk of human kindness that may have ever fallen, must instantly turn to rust.

"He goes every day in a barouche and four, with a picquet of ten hussars, an officer and a Mameluke, to his country house; whither he is also accompanied by his mother, in another carriage and four, and by Madame Bertrand, and altogether, they form a gay looking party. I saw him at his country house feeding the chickens, as well as I could judge. He sleeps little at night, and without taking off his clothes—rises at two, or even at one o'clock in the morning—breakfasts at ten or eleven—then goes to bed; plays billiards at his mother's house, and sometimes cards in the evening—pays all he loses, but never accepts what he wins, so that the Ladies of honour, and others, gain much by this method. I am informed that he supports his fall with unalterable firmness; that he is cheerful and pleasant company, joins with every body, and has always something to say for himself. Nor his mother never allude in conversation to the subject of their reverses. It is the custom here to pay him marks of reverence, which I never saw practised about the persons of the potentates. General Bertrand sits in the carriage with him, uncovered, at the risk of getting a *coup de soleil*. You take off your hat at his approach at the greatest distance you think it possible he can discern you. In the mean time he looks at you without taking any other notice of you. Madame la Mere is the best looking woman

Character of the Emperor's Mother.

of her time of life I have seen, (she is near seventy) and must have been formerly very handsome ; her countenance is at once sweet and dignified, notwithstanding the obscurity of her origin. "She is good and kind," said —, "but her education and talents are very moderate." She made a good use of her influence, when her son was the king of kings, and prevented many bad things from being done."

The influence of the character of Bonaparté continued to be felt more or less throughout Europe, even during his residence at Elba. It possessed, even then a magnetic quality which drew attention to that, otherwise, insignificant spot. He continued to *force* himself upon attention : and demonstrated, that the influence which he exercised upon the population of Europe, arose rather out of the direct personal idea of him which he had indelibly impressed, than from the adventitious symbols of greatness of which he was then divested. Every eye was directed to the spot which he had rendered important by residing upon it. He was "watched in imagination as the ancients might have watched the giant, who was chained under Mount Ætna, and whose movements produced the convulsions of the earth."

The residence of Bonaparté at Elba, was composed of two buildings of each three windows in length, and two stories high: joined together by another building, of four windows in length, and one story high ; green blinds, a brown door, and two centinels at the door. The fitting up of the interior displayed the most elegant taste, and the saloon was capable of containing one hundred persons. Sleeping very little, he was an early riser, and in the exercise of riding would tire two or three horses ; and sometimes labour late at night.

Interviews with Bonaparte

Major —, having made his way to Porto Ferrajo, in the Isle of Elba, announced himself as an English officer, and was introduced to Bonaparte. The audience being closed, he was gratified by receiving the ex-emperor's commands to dine with him. He describes the banquet as sumptuous beyond imperial splendor. Bonaparte was remarkably free and communicative, neither inviting nor avoiding political discussions. He talked and listened with complacency, and without effort, addressing the English who were present, with marked distinction. As the night advanced, he became more animated, singing various *CHANSONS a boire*, in excellent taste. The entertainment, contrary to the custom of France, was continued until about eleven, when it broke up.

At a later period, the Hon. Mr. S——n, son of the earl of S. visited Elba, and sought an interview with the de-throned sovereign, who was now more difficult of access. He was desired by one of the general officers to return in about two hours, and at the expiration of that interval, was told that the emperor would receive him in the evening. About ten o'clock, he was conducted into a garden, in which the emperor was walking by moonlight. Having accosted Bonaparte, with becoming reverence, he was received with great politeness. They continued to walk in the garden during the whole of the interview. In the course of the conversation, Bonaparte, having introduced the subject of England, observed, "Well, sir, I think I shall visit England one of these days. I had some thoughts of being in London (smiling) a few years since, but I am much more in earnest now." The audience lasted for about half an hour, when Mr. S——n respectfully took his leave.

Change in the Emperor's habits.

The earlier part of the time passed by the emperor at Elba, was filled up with the most indefatigable activity. Whatever might be the state of the weather, he went regularly to his country-house, of St. Martin. After breakfast he frequently reviewed his little army, requiring the greatest regularity in their exercises and manœuvres, and enforcing the strictest discipline. After the review he mounted his horse for his morning ride. With philosophers of the Institute, and of the Royal Academy of London, he conversed on the recent discoveries in natural philosophy, chemistry, and galvanism, and talked with the military about the historical memoirs which he was writing of his campaigns.

About the beginning of autumn, a remarkable change took place in the manners and habits of the emperor. Hitherto he had exhibited the utmost apparent resignation to his fate; and had discovered the greatest predilection for the company of sir Neil Campbell, the British officer who accompanied him to Elba. Having been visited by some of his family and friends from Paris, he became restless and dissatisfied. What passed at that interview is unknown; but, from that time he avoided the society of sir N. Campbell, and became difficult of access. With folded arms, and agitated step he paced the sea-shore. It is probable that having learned the discontents which prevailed in France, he was then meditating that return, which to the astonishment of Europe he so singularly accomplished.

Having formed his plan of escape, Bonaparté made active preparations for quitting Elba and gave strict orders against the admission of strangers into the island. He had for some time corresponded with the disaffected in France, by means of an ingenious cipher; and, had ascertained, that, he had

Address of Bonaparte to his soldiers

with an important party in his favor in France, especially amongst the military.

With a view to his departure, the emperor purchased some small feluccas at Genoa, ammunition at Naples, and a few arms at Algiers. On the 25th of February, 1815, he presided at a fete, on which occasion he appeared to be remarkably cheerful. On the following day, having reviewed his little army, at their dismissal he ordered them to prepare for immediate service, and to assemble on the same parade at six o'clock in the evening. Being assembled at the appointed time, Bonaparte, having formed them into a hollow square, placed himself in their centre; and, unfolded to them, in that style of popular eloquence for which he was so remarkable, his purposes and views. He assured them that France, Belgium, and Italy, invited him to resume the imperial crown, and that it was only necessary to effect his landing in France, to induce his former army to rally around his standard. He concluded his unimpaired appeal with the following expressions: "What say you soldiers, are you prepared to follow me, and to partake of my fortune, my glory, and if there be any, my perils and labours?"

The most enthusiastic acclamations furnished the response, and Napoleon immediately conducted them to the place of embarkation. The amount of his army consisted of 1,140 men; his fleet, of a brig, *L'Inconstant*, mounting twenty-six guns, and six small transports. The invasion of a kingdom containing 28,000,000 of souls with such a force, would generally be pronounced absurd: but, the invader was himself a host. He calculated upon the magic effect which his personal appearance would produce, and, the event justified his anticipations.

Embarcation of Bonaparte's Army.

At eight o'clock in the evening, this insignificant army was embarked. The signal of departure was the firing of a cannon, followed by the shout of "Paris or death." Sir Neil Campbell was in Italy, no cruiser was in sight—the night clear—wind favourable, and every thing auspicious. Before morning they hoped to double the island of Capraria and to be out of reach of the cruisers on that station. The wind dying away, they had at day-break made only six leagues progress, and were still between Capraria and Elba. Some vessels were now seen in the offing, of sufficient force to excite their alarm. The captain and crew urged an immediate return to Porto Ferrajo: but the emperor was resolute to proceed. "He had set his life upon a cast and he would stand the die." If overtaken, he determined to announce himself, and trust, in the first instance, to the influence of his *name*. If *that* failed, he would rely on the courage of his veteran guard, and attempt to carry them by boarding; but no notice was taken of his little squadron, for he had previously lulled suspicion, by the frequent appearance of his own brig, and another sailing to Genoa and Leghorn, the English and French cruisers having been accustomed to meet his flag, paid no attention to it on the present occasion.

The wind freshening about noon, they were off Leghorn at four in the afternoon, when they fell in with a ship of war which proved to be the *Zephyr*, Captain Andrieux, who was personally known to Taillade, a lieutenant of the *Inconstant*, who undertook to carry on the conference. After a short parley, by which Andrieux was completely imposed upon, they separated, and were soon out of sight of each other.

At day break on the 28th, a seventy-four gun ship was

Bonaparte issues two proclamations

visible at a distance of four leagues; the little flotilla however was not noticed by it. At seven, in the morning, they discovered the coast of Noli; at noon, Antibes was visible, and at three o'clock in the morning of the 1st of March, they entered the gulf of Juan—a short distance from Frejus, in the department of Tar. Bonaparte now mustered his troops on deck, and presenting them with the national colours, ordered them to throw the cockade of Elba into the sea, which was done amidst shouts of "Vive l'empereur."

In the afternoon, the whole of the troops were disembarked, and, as the emperor again set foot on the French territory, he exclaimed "the Congress is dissolved!"

The unexpected appearance of the individual, with whose name was associated recollections of the most heroic exploits, produced a magical illusion, eminently favourable to his object. Under its influence, he prosecuted his eventful journey, receiving continual accessions of volunteers, until he arrived on the 5th, at Gap, where he issued two proclamations; one addressed "To the Army," the other, "To the French People."

On the 5th, Napoleon advanced towards Grenoble. Finding his progress contested, he proceeded towards the royal troops, and arriving within pistol-shot, he alighted, and baring his bosom, exclaimed, "Behold me! If there is one soldier among you who wishes to kill his emperor, let him come forward from the ranks and fire upon me!" The arms of every soldier were hurled on the ground. A universal shout of "Vive l'empereur" succeeded—the guard and the soldiers embraced, and, tearing off the white cockade, they enthusiastically mounted the National colours. The forces of Bonaparte being nearly doubled by the ad-

Louis quits Paris.

dition of Labedoyère's regiment, he advanced fearlessly towards Genoble, which place he entered at ten o'clock, amidst the most enthusiastic shouts of the populace and the military.

The intelligence of the landing of Bonaparté was received by the French government on the 5th of March, but was not disclosed until the next day. On the 6th the king issued two proclamations, one of which was for the convocation of the legislature; and Marshall Soult the war minister, issued an order to the army dated March 8th.

The population of Lyons was decidedly favourable to the cause of Napoleon. To that city, distinguished as the capital of French commerce, Bonaparté, anxious to rival the manufactures of England, had granted his special protection and favour. He entered Lyons on the evening of the 9th, and was welcomed by the natural and warm expression of the gratitude, and joy, of its inhabitants. He had now nothing to fear, and halting for the purpose of refreshing his troops, he here assumed all the imperial state; and began to issue proclamations and decrees, as though he had been actually reinstated on the throne.

With various success, the emperor continued to advance towards Paris. On the 15th, he slept at Autun, and, on the 16th, at Avallon. In the mean time, Marshal Ney, who had been directed to fall on the rear of Bonaparté, joined him, with the whole of his corps. This was decisive of the contest. Louis, having anticipated the result, quitted Paris at one o'clock in the morning of the 20th.

Entering the gate of D'Enfer, in his travelling carriage, almost without escort, the emperor was not recognized until he had reached the Thulleries, where he was received by the

Landing of Bonaparte in France, set Europe in commotion

soldiers, and the populace, with an enthusiasm approaching to madness.

Thus terminated a revolution, unparalleled in the annals of the world; bearing rather the character of theatrical illusion, than of an actual course of events; and, resembling more a romance of the imagination, than the positive achievement of human faculties.

CHAPTER XVII.

The landing of Bonaparte in France set Europe in commotion. On the 6th of April, a message from the Prince-regent was delivered to both houses of Parliament, stating that he had been induced to "give directions for the augmentation of his Majesty's land and sea forces;" and that he should "lose no time in entering into communications with his Majesty's allies, for the purpose of forming such a concert as might most effectually provide for the general and permanent security of Europe."

The consideration of this message was entered upon in the house of Lords on the 7th, when the Earl of Liverpool rose to move a corresponding address, which, after some discussion, was carried unanimously.

On the same day, the message was taken into consideration in the house of Commons, being introduced by

A vindication of the Emperor's return published.

Lord Castlereagh, who occupied in general the same ground as his colleague; but owing to his personal participation in the transactions under consideration, indulged in a greater extent of animadversion, than the noble lord who introduced it into the upper house.

The extended observations of Lord Castlereagh, were replied to by Sir Francis Burdett, Mr. Ponsonby, and Mr. Whitbread. Mr. F. Douglas spoke in favour of the address, when the question being loudly called for, the house divided, and the result was a majority in favour of the original motion of 183.

The return of Napoleon to France, was hailed by the French people as the pledge of that rational liberty, for which they had fought with so much ardor, and suffered with so much constancy. They trusted that the European powers would allow them to establish that government which their own choice should dictate, provided they observed the stipulations of the treaty of Paris. This hope, however was soon extinguished; for on the 13th of March the declarations of the Allies arrived at Paris, where they were received with equal surprise and dismay. A council being immediately called, it was resolved to publish a vindication of the Emperor's resumption of his throne: a statement of the moderation of his views, and his determination to abide by the treaties already formed, to transmit overtures of a conciliatory character to every court in Europe; and give to the French people a constitution, which should at once satisfy every friend of rational liberty, and endear the Emperor and his government to the hearts of his subjects.

On the day after his entry into Paris, Bonaparte reviewed

Bonaparte's orders to his soldiers.

his troops in the Place du Carouzel. After passing through the ranks, and noticing every soldier whose person he recollects, he formed them into a square, and delivered to them the following address.

“ Soldiers ! I arrived in France with six hundred men, because I calculated upon the love of the people, and on the remembrance of the veteran soldiers. I was not deceived in my expectation. Soldiers ! I thank you. Glory like that which we are about to acquire is every thing to the people, and to you ! My glory is, that I have known and valued you !

“ Soldiers ! the throne of the Bourbons was illegitimate, because it was built by the hands of strangers ; because it was proscribed by the vow of the nation, declared in all our national assemblies ; because, in short, it offered a guarantee only to the interests of a few men, whose arrogant pretensions were opposed to our rights. Soldiers ! the imperial throne only can secure the rights of the people, and, above all, the first of our interests—our glory. Soldiers ! we are now to march, to hunt from our territories these princes auxiliaries to strangers : the nation will not only second us in our protestations, but will follow our impulse. The French people and I calculate upon you. We will not interfere with the affairs of foreign nations, but woe to those who shall interfere with ours !”

The new revolution was now strengthening itself in different parts of France, but the sovereignty of Napoleon was that of the head of a popular government. This sentiment was conspicuous in the addresses presented to Bonaparte at the Tuilleries, on the 27th of March. The address of the minister led the way, the whole of which was in unison

Address of the Senate.

with the following passage: “ The cause of the people the only legitimate cause, has triumphed. Your majesty is restored to the wishes of the French: you have resumed the reins of government amidst the blessings of your people and your army. France, Sire, has for the guarantee of this, its will, and its dearest interests. She has also the expressions of your majesty, uttered amidst the throngs that crowded around you on your journey.” They adverted to the maxims which he had announced for the regulation of his future conduct. “ We are to have no foreign war, unless to repel unjust aggression: no internal reaction; no arbitrary acts. Personal security, protection of property, the free utterance of thought, such are the principles which your majesty has pledged to us.” To such addresses Napoleon returned appropriate answers. To his ministers he replied, “ The sentiments you express are my own. All for the nation;—all for France.—That is my motto. —Myself and family, whom that great people have raised to the throne of the French, and whom they have maintained there notwithstanding political storms and vicissitudes, we desire, we deserve, we claim no other title.”

The address of the council of state was marked by the independence of its spirit, and the salutary cautions which it gave to the Emperor, for the regulation of his conduct. Napoleon replied, “ Princes are the first citizens of the state. Their authority is more or less extended, according to the interests of the nations whom they govern. The sovereignty itself is only hereditary, because the welfare of the people requires it. Depart

Buonaparte conciliates the Republicans.

ing from this principle, I know no legitimacy. I have enounced the idea of the grand empire, of which, during steen years, I had but founded the basis. Henceforth, the happiness and the consolidation of the French empire shall be all my thoughts."

Anxious to rally round him the various political parties into which France was divided, Napoleon was particularly desirous to have for his confidential ministers, the heads of what was termed the republican party; the appointment of whom to important offices, could be a pledge to the nation, that his government should not be disgraced by arbitrary or tyranical measures. In pursuance of this object an interesting interview took place between the Emperor and the celebrated Carnot, to whom he deplored the mania of conquest which had led him into such fatal excesses. Having made these concessions, he required that Carnot and his party should abate somewhat of the sternness of their republican character, and in proof of it, that Carnot should accept a title of nobility, as a recognition of their satisfaction with a limited monarchy, on a representative basis.

Carnot having consulted his friends, acquiesced; the title of Count was conferred upon him, and he was afterwards appointed minister of the interior.

In the spirit of a sound policy, Napoleon, three days after his public entry into Paris, removed every restriction which the Bourbons had injudiciously laid on the liberty of the press, and dismissed the censors to whom every pamphlet, and every article in the journals, was submitted, previous to its publication.

Patronises a National education.

Another of the early decrees of Napoleon was the *abolition of the slave trade*; a decree so important, that if he had been permitted to return from Elba, for the accomplishment of that *single* object, thousands would have been furnished with matter of sincere thanks to providence for affording him the opportunity of conferring happiness upon the injured race of Africa.

Carnot, having addressed a memorial to the Emperor, on the advantages of elementary instruction, with reference to the lower classes of society; in which it was stated, that, there were in France, two millions of children destitute of primary education: Napoleon issued a decree, the object of which was to confer his patronage upon a system of education, constructed upon the principles of Bell and Lancaster, whom Carnot had eulogized in his memorial.

These acts, so little in unison with the Emperor's previous character, confounded the superficial politicians of every nation, who concluded, that the recovered influence of Napoleon would have been exercised with rigour and supported by terror. If, however, there was no actual change in the Emperor's *character*, there were many insuperable difficulties in the way of his immoderate ambition; and he decided, therefore, to *adapt* himself to circumstances which he could not *control*.

The south of France continued, however, in a state of opposition to the new government. The Duke of Bourbon endeavoured at La Vendee, to stimulate the friends of royalty, in that district. Those who flocked to his standard were unarmed, and undisciplined. Napoleon dispatched a general officer to the Duke, to

Lands in the South of France.

remonstrate with him on the inutility of opposing his incompetent levies against the veteran troops who were marching upon him: with instructions to offer an amnesty to his followers, and passports for himself, and those who chose to accompany him, on condition that he would abandon his enterprise. The Duke, convinced of the folly and danger of resistance, acceded to the proposition, and receiving safe conduct for himself, and forty of his officers, proceeded to Nantes, where he embarked.

The inhabitants of the maritime towns living greatly suffered by the protracted wars of the revolution, had welcomed the return of the Bourbons as the pledge of a permanent peace. The re-establishment of Napoleon, was, therefore, in their apprehension, the signal of a return to their former misery and degradation. Their interests attached them to the Bourbon cause. The arrival of the Duke and Duchess of Angouleme at Bourdeaux, on the 2d of March, was, therefore hailed with enthusiasm. On the 5th, a fête was given by the merchants, in the midst of which a courier arrived with the fearful intelligence of the landing of Napoleon. Unwilling to extinguish the public joy, the Duke concealed the purport of the letters, and delayed his departure for the south until midnight, when he quitted the city.

Arrived in the south, some regiments of the line followed the Duke with apparent fidelity, and his army, by degrees, increased to above six thousand men. Being, however ultimately betrayed by those in whom he confided, he was constrained to surrender to General

His address to the Prince Regent

Gilly, who granted him an universal amnesty : the lives and property of his followers were secured ; and the Duke received a safe convoy to Cettc, where he was to embark for Spain or England.

On the 2d of April, the justificatory manifesto of Napoleon was published. Two days afterwards, pacific overtures were made by the French government to all the courts of Europe, on which occasion Napoleon addressed the following letter to the Prince-regent.

“ Sir, my brother !—You will have learned in the course of the last month, my return on the shores of France, my entrance into Paris, and the departure of the family of the Bourbons. The true nature of these events must now be known to your majesty. They are the work of an irresistible power, the work of the unanimous will of a great nation, which knows its duties and its rights. The dynasty which force had imposed upon the French people was no longer made for it : the Bourbons would not accord with its sentiments or its manners : France has separated itself from them. Its voice called for a deliverer. The expectation which decided me to make the greatest of sacrifices was not disappointed. I came, and from the point where I touched the shore, the love of my people carried me even to the bosom of my capital. The first duty of my heart is to repay so much affection by the maintenance of an honorable tranquility. The re-establishment of the imperial throne was necessary for the happiness of Frenchmen. My dearest thought is at the same time to make it useful to the securing of the repose of Europe. Sufficient glory has adorned by turns the flags of different nations.

Motion of Mr. Whitbread

The vicissitudes of fortune have caused sufficient great reverses to succeed to great successes. A finer field is now open for sovereigns, and I am the first to enter it. After having presented to the world the spectacle of great combats, it will be more delightful, in future, to know no other rivalry except that of the advantages of peace, no other struggle except the sacred struggle for the happiness of our people. France is glad to proclaim with frankness this noble end of all its wishes. Jealous of its independence, the invariable principle of its policy will be the most absolute respect for the independence of other nations; if such, as I have a happy confidence, shall be the personal sentiments of your majesty, the general tranquility is secured for a long time; and justice, seated on the confines of different states, will alone suffice to guard their frontiers.

1 seize with eagerness, &c. &c."

The pacific principles of this letter were not in unison with the sentiments of the cabinets of Europe. A disposition for war pervaded most of them, and the English ministry, in particular, could be satisfied with nothing less. To engage in a war merely for the purpose of forcing a nation to discard a ruler whom it had adopted; appeared, however, to many members of parliament, a measure of such manifest injustice, as well as doubtful issue, that they hesitated to concur in it, without proof of its political necessity. Under these impressions, Mr. Whitbread, on the 28th of April, rose to make a motion for an address to the prince-regent; and after animadverting upon the conduct of the allies, in making an individual the object of a war, concluded

Proceeding of Ministers

by moving, “ That an humble address be presented to the Prince-regent, to intreat his royal highness that he will be pleased to take such measures as may be necessary to prevent this country being involved in war, on the ground of the executive power being vested in any particular person.”

It was contended by ministers on the other hand, that war was inevitable, and a less evil than peace with such a ruler as Napoleon ; who, in addition to his insatiable ambition, was notorious for his infraction of treaties. It is not a little singular, however, that the Emperor justified his return from Elba, and his resumption of imperial dignity in France, by preferring against the allies, precisely the same charge which they had brought against him ; a breach of the Treaty of Fontainbleau, upon the ground of which he had abdicated the throne of France, and released his subjects from their oaths of allegiance. He contended, that, the treaty of Fontainbleau had been violated by the Allied Powers, and by the House of Bourbon, in what related to the Emperor Napoleon, and his family ; as well as in all that affected the rights and interests of the French nation.

1. The Empress Maria Louisa, and her son, were to have been furnished with passports, and an escort, to proceed to the Emperor ; but, that instead of executing that solemn engagement, the wife was violently separated from the husband, the son from the father, at a period when domestic solace was preeminently important to him.

2. The safety of Napoleon, of the imperial family,

The Emperor's remonstrance.

and of their suite, was guaranteed by the fourteenth article of the Treaty: but, in violation of that guarantee, bands of assassins were organized in France, by orders of the French government, to attack the Emperor, his brothers, and their wives; and, in fact, that, after his arrival at Elba, many assassins had endeavoured to earn the price of blood, by the murder of their meditated victim.

3. The Duchies of Parma, and Placentia, were given in full property to Maria Louisa, for herself and son, and his descendants; that after many refusals to put them in possession, they had consummated their injustice by an absolute spoliation, under the form of an exchange, without valuation, consent, or sovereignty.

4. There was to be given to the Prince Eugene, who had rendered many important services to France, a suitable establishment out of France, and that he had obtained nothing.

5. The Emperor had stipulated (by the ninth article of the Treaty,) in favour of the distinguished soldiers of the army, the preservation of their grants from the fund called *Monte Napoleon*: that he had also reserved on the extraordinary domains, and on other funds of the Civil list, means of recompensing the servants and soldiers who adhered to his destiny; but that these had all been *kept by the ministers of the Bourbons*.

6. That the sixth article of the same Treaty, stipulated the preservation of the properties, moveable and immovable, of the family of the Emperor; and that it had been stripped of both species of property, by force of arms in France, and robbers commissioned to do the same in Italy.

Proclamation to the French army.

7. The Emperor Napoleon was to receive six millions and his family 2,500,000 francs a-year, according to the distribution established by the sixth article of the Treaty. The French government constantly refused to fulfil that engagement: and, Napoleon would have been under the necessity of disbanding his faithful adherents, if he had not found in the bankers and merchants of Genoa, and Italy, the honourable resource of a loan of twelve millions, which they offered to him.

8. They tried by all means to remove from Napoleon his devoted followers, the companions of his military glory. The Isle of Elba had been assured to him in full property, (by the third article of the Treaty,) but, the resolution of the Bourbons to strip him of it, being solicited by their agents, was adopted at the Congress.

These violations of the solemn contract, upon the faith of which Napoleon had abdicated the throne of France, constitute his justification in quitting the Isle of Elba, and considering the treaty of Fontainbleau as null and void. These grounds were recognized as warranting the return of Napoleon, in a state document, entitled, *Report of the Commission of the Presidents of the Council of State*; certified by the Minister, Secretary of State, and subscribed

The Duke of Bassano.

The conduct of the Allies threatening renewed hostilities, every effort was made to increase the regular army of France, and the following energetic proclamation issued.

“ You earnestly wished for your Emperer. He is arrived. You have supported him with all your efforts.

Conscript law enforced

Rally with all possible dispatch around your standards, that you may be ready to defend your country against enemies who are desirous of regulating our national colours, imposing sovereigns upon us, and dictating constitutions. Under these circumstances, it is the duty of every Frenchman, already accustomed to war, to join the imperial standard. Let us present a frontier of brass to our enemies, and prove to them that we are always the same.

“ Soldiers !—Whether you have obtained unlimited or limited furloughs, or whether you have received your discharge, if your wounds are healed, and you are in a state fit to serve, come and join the army ! Honour your country, your Emperor invites you ! With what reproaches would you not have cause to overwhelm me, were our fine country again to be ravaged by those soldiers whom you so often vanquished, and were the foreigner to invade and obliterate France from the map of Europe.

(Signed.)

The Prince of ECKMÜHL.

The old soldiers crowded to the imperial standard, and a brave and numerous army was placed at the disposal of the Emperor, with which he might expect to open the Campaign with eclat.

Alarmed, however, at the confederation which threatened him, he was anxious to augment his disposable force. “ I must have an immediate levy of 300,000 men,” said he one day to Carnot. “ The thing is impossible,” was the reply. “ But are not the conscript laws in existence ?”—“ Yes, but they will no longer be obeyed as formerly.” What ! am I not still Emperor ?

The Act additional.

—Yes, Sire ! but with restrictions and limits.” Napoleon quitted the council.

Workmen were employed in fortifying the heights of Montmatre, Chaumont and Mesnil Montant, in the neighbourhood of Paris, and orders issued to inspect and complete the fortifications of every garrison town. Many hundred workmen were employed in the fortifications of Lyons, and no effort spared to oppose the most effective obstacles to the progress of the invader ; batteries frowned from the summit of every mountain, and the din of preparation was heard from the northern frontier to the Mediterranean sea.

Having, on his first landing in France, pledged himself to give the French nation a constitution, agreeable to their wishes ; Napoleon hastened to redeem his pledge ; and, for that purpose, appointed a commission to prepare the form of a constitution, to be submitted to the choice of the nation. Bishop Gregoire, well known for his attachment to rational liberty ; and Benjamin Constant, who had lately spoken his sentiments of the Emperor with the utmost freedom, were members of the commission.

The purport of the document prepared, and entitled, “*Act additional to the Constitutions of the Empire*,” was to give to the French nation a free representative government, similar to that of England, which it manifestly contemplated ; and is curious, as it goes to shew, to what views Napoleon would have been constrained to conform, had he been unable to re-establish a military despotism.

This additional act was to be offered to the accept-

Champ de Mai.

ance or rejection of the French people. Every French man, of mature age, was invited to vote *for* or *against* it, in every town and district. These votes were to be collected, and the result published at the Champ de Mai, which was to be convened on the 26th of May.

The Champ de Mai, or Champ de Mars, is an immense expanse in front of the military school, bordered on both sides with double avenues of trees, extending from the school, nearly to the banks of the Seine; and like the Campus Martius at Rome, was devoted to the review of troops. It did not, however, derive its name from the Roman *Campus Martius* for, in the earliest periods of the French monarchy, the general assemblies of the nation were held there. To frame new laws—to submit complaints to the royal ear—to adjust differences amongst the barons, and to review the national forces, were the principal objects to which it was devoted. It derived its name of "Champ de Mars," from the circumstance of the assembly taking place in the month of March. About the middle of the eighth century, Pepin transferred the meeting to the month of May, as a milder and more convenient season. After which, it was called indifferently, either the Champ de Mars, or the Champ de Mai.

There was one circumstance, however, connected with the promulgation of the additional act, which gave general and just offence. The army and navy were invited to deliberate on it, as well as to transmit their approval or dissent.

By every state enjoying the slightest portion of liberty, a deliberative voice has been uniformly withheld

Address of the Emperor.

from the military. Their province is to defend the country from invasion, and to *obey* the commands of the executive. To allow them a voice in the legislative deliberations of a country, would be to expose its freedom to a dangerous and fatal influence, which would soon reduce it to a military despotism.

An excessive proportion of military in a country, is in itself, an ominous circumstance, even when they have no deliberative voice, inasmuch as it places at the disposal of government, an influence, to which they may at any time recur, whether, for the oppression of the people, or indemnity for their convicted mal-practices.

At the celebrated meeting of the Champs de Mai, an address was presented to the Emperor, in which he was reminded of what the nation expected from *him*, and what he might expect from it; to which Napoleon made the following reply.

“Emperor, consul, soldier, I hold every thing from the people. In prosperity, in adversity, in the field of battle, at the council, on the throne, in exile, France has been the sole and constant object of my thoughts and of my actions.

Like the Athenian king, I sacrificed myself for my people, in the hope of seeing the promise given to preserve to France its natural extent, its honours, and its rights, realized.

Indignation at seeing these sacred rights, acquired by twenty years of victories, disowned and lost for ever; the cry of French honour branded: the wishes of the nation, have brought me back on that throne which is

The Emperor's address to the Senate.

dear to me because it is the palladium of the independence, honour, and of the rights of the people.

Frenchmen ! in crossing, amidst the public gladness, the different provinces of the empire, to reach my capital, I had a right to reckon on a long peace : Nations are bound by the treaties made by their governments, whatever they may be.

My mind therefore directed itself entirely towards the means of sounding our liberty by a constitution conformable to the will and to the interest of the people : I convoked the Field of May.

I soon ascertained that the princes who have disowned all principles, trifled with the opinion, and trampled on the dearest interests of so many nations, wished to make war against us. They meditate an increase of the kingdom of the Low Countries, by giving it all our strong places of the north for a frontier ; and, to conciliate the differences which still divide them, in partitioning Lorraine and Alsace between each other.

It has been necessary to prepare for war. However, before personally running the hazards of combats, my first solicitude was to constitute without delay the nation. The people have accepted the act which I have presented to them.

Frenchmen ! when we shall have repulsed these aggressions, and when Europe shall be convinced of what is due to the rights and to the independence of twenty-eight millions of men, a solemn law made in the forms ordained by the Constitutional Act, will assemble the different clauses and component parts, at present dispersed, of our institutions.

The royal confederates.

Frenchmen ! you are about to return to your departments. Tell the citizens that the circumstances are grand ; that, with union, energy, and perseverance, we shall issue victorious out of this struggle of a great people against its oppressors ; that the generations to come will severely scrutinize our conduct ; that a nation has lost every thing when it has lost independence. Tell them, that the foreign kings whom I have elevated to the throne, or who owe the preservation of their crowns to me ; who, in the time of my prosperity, courted my alliance and the protection of the French people, now direct all their blows against my person. If I did not see that it is the country which they aim at, I would place that existence at their mercy against which they exhibit such rancour. But tell to the citizens also, that, whilst the French shall preserve for me the sentiments of love, of which they now give me so many proofs, this rage of our enemies will be powerless.

Frenchmen ! my will is that of the people ; my rights are also their rights ! My honour, my glory, my happiness, cannot be any other than the honour, the glory, and the happiness of France !”

The royal confederates, exasperated by Napoleon's resumption of empire, were now determined upon a renewal of hostilities. The pacific overtures of Bonaparte were treated with contempt, and Europe began to assume a menacing attitude. They made, indeed, a distinction between Napoleon, and the French people, and said in effect ; we by no means presume to interfere with your national government ; but, you shall not have Bonaparte for your emperor. They might regu-

late every thing else according to their own wishes, but the Allies claimed a *veto* on their king. The discussions in both houses of parliament, were animated, and protracted. Lord Liverpool, and his colleagues, in the upper house, contended, that, the *risks of war* were to be preferred to peace with such an individual as Napoleon, whose insatiable ambition, and total destitution of principle, threatened the peace of Europe with continual irruptions. The same doctrines, promulgated in the lower house by Lord Castlereagh, and his adherents, indicated the course which the British government, in concert with the allies, intended to pursue. The leaders of opposition, in both houses, denied, equally, the *justice* and *expediency* of interfering with the obvious right of the French nation, to fix upon the throne of France, the individual most acceptable to the nation at large. Triumphant in argument, they were defeated in the divisions of both houses, and war became the unavoidable result.

Whatever conclusions might be formed with regard to the *motives* of Napoleon in making overtures of peace there can be no doubt with respect to the desirableness of peace to *him*, individually considered nor is it less certain, that the continuance of peace was essential to Europe in general. Exhausted by conflicts the most violent, and protracted, Europe required a breathing time, to recruit her strength. But the demon of discord was gone forth, in the energy of his fury, and peace retired at his approach. Preparations the most active, and extended, were immediately in progress. Humanity shuddered and wept, and, a scene the most appalling,

Proclamation to the French army.

and memorable, ensued ; in which the awful waste of human life is not to be thought of by any well constructed mind, without dismay and indignation.

The opinions of mankind were various as to the probable issue of the approaching contest. The general opinion, however, was, that, though it might be severe, and sanguinary, it could not be of long continuance. France, herself, contended that it was impossible to subdue a warlike nation with a population of 29,000,000 of people : that Napoleon carrying the horrors of war out of the French territories, would, as usual, live at the expense of his adversaries. In the event of a defeat, they relied upon the spirit of unanimity, generally prevalent in France ; which uniting all hands, and all hearts, would, as they believed, be sufficient to repel the invaders.

Events the most important now crowd upon our attention. Immediately after the conclusion of the ceremonies of the Champ de Mai, Soult addressed a proclamation to the French army, in which he informed them that a "new oath" united France and the emperor : and that all the efforts of an "impious league," would not be able to separate the interests of the people from "the hero who was the admiration of the universe." He told them, that, the object of the Allies was to "erase France from the list of nations," and to impose slavery upon 28,000,000 of men. He added, that, their enemies were numerous, but, that the contest was neither beyond the genius of Napoleon, nor their strength. "To arms," therefore, said he. The signal for battle will soon be given ; and while Napoleon guides "our steps," and

Plan of the intended campaign.

we fight for "our beautiful country," we shall be "invincible."

Bonaparte was also making preparations for putting himself at the head of his army. Three plans of campaign appear to have occupied his attention: the first, to remain on the defensive, and draw the enemies armies towards Paris and Lyons. The second project, was, to assume the offensive on the 15th of June, and invade Belgium. The third, which he adopted, to assume the offensive on the 15th of June, and in case of any failure, to entice the enemy under Paris and Lyons. The month of May passed in meditations upon the merits of these respective plans. The insurrection of La Vendée, having withdrawn twenty thousand men from the army of Flanders, had reduced it to one hundred and twenty thousand; this was an event greatly diminishing the chances of success. On the other hand, Belgium, and the four departments of the Rhine, being favorable, communications were established with the Belgian army; this determined Napoleon to attack the Anglo Belgian, and Prusso Saxon armies, on the 15th of June; and, if he failed in defeating them, to fall back upon Paris and Lyons.

The Duke of Dalmatia was appointed Major General of the army. On the 2nd of June he issued the following order of the day, and immediately after left Paris for the purpose of visiting the fortresses in Flanders.

"The most august of ceremonies has just consecrated our institutions. The Emperor has received from the envoys of the people, and deputations sent from all the armies, the expression of their sentiments and wishes

Order of the day

respecting the additional act, which has been sent for acceptation ; and a new oath unites France and the Emperor. Thus the destinies are propitious ; and all the efforts of an impious league can no longer separate the interests of the great people, and of the Hero, whose brilliant triumphs have attracted the admiration of the universe.

“ It is, at a moment when the national will manifests itself with so much energy, that cries of war are heard : it is when France is at peace with all Europe, that foreign armies advance on our frontiers : what then are the hopes of this new coalition ? Does it wish to extirpate France from the rank of nations ? Does it wish to plunge twenty-eight millions of Frenchmen into a degrading servitude ? Has it forgotten that the first league that was formed against our independence, tended to our aggrandizement and our glory ? A hundred brilliant victories, which momentary reverses, and untoward circumstances have not been able to efface, ought to remind it, that a free nation, conducted by a great man, is invincible.

“ Every Frenchman is a soldier when national honour and liberty are in question : at present, a common interest unites us all. The engagements which violence ravished from us, are destroyed by the flight of the Bourbons from the French territory ; by the appeal they have made to foreign nations to remount the throne which they have abandoned ; and by the unanimous will of the nation which, in resuming its rights, has solemnly disavowed all that has been done without its participation.

Order of the day.

"The French cannot receive laws from foreigners; even those who have gone to beg a paricidal succour, will not delay to recognize and prove, like their predecessors, that contempt and infamy follow their steps, and that they cannot wash away the opprobrium with which they cover themselves, except by re-entering our ranks.

"But a new career of glory opens itself before the army. History will consecrate the military exploits which shall have illustrated the defenders of the country and of the national honour. It is said the enemies are numerous: what matters it to us? It will be more glorious to conquer them, and their defeat will be the more splendid. The struggle in which we are about to engage is not above the genius of Napoleon, nor beyond our own strength; do we not see all the departments rivalling each other in enthusiasm and devotion, form, as it were by enchantment, five hundred superb battalions of national guards, which are already come to double our ranks, to defend our fortresses, and to associate themselves with the glory of the army? This is the impulse of a generous people which no power can conquer, and which posterity will admire. To arms!

"The signal will soon be given; let every one be at his post; our victorious phalanxes are about to derive new splendour from the number of our enemies. Soldiers! Napoleon guides our steps: we fight for the independence of our beautiful country: we are invincible!

Bonaparté, having joined the army on the 13th of June, established his head-quarters at Beaumont. The Emperor had quitted Paris on the 12th in the morning,

Encampment of the army.

breakfasted at Soissons, slept at Laon, and having given his final orders for the arming of the latter place, the army encamped on the 14th in three directions: the left, upwards of forty thousand strong composed of the 1st, and 2nd corps, on the right bank of the Sambre, at Hamsurteure, and Solre-sur-Sambre; the centre, more than sixty thousand strong, composed of 3rd and 6th corps of the imperial guard, and of the reserves of cavalry, at Beaumont; the right, more than fifteen thousand strong, formed of the 4th corps, and a division of cuirassiers, in front of Philippeville. The camps being established behind small hills, a league from the frontier, the fires were not perceived by the enemy, who in fact were ignorant of the encampment. On the 14th, at night, it appeared by the returns, that the force of the army amounted to one hundred and twenty two thousand, four hundred men, and three hundred and fifty pieces of cannon.

On the evening of the 14th, the Emperor issued the following order of the day: " Soldiers! this is the anniversary of Marengo, and of Friedland. Then, as after at Austerlitz and Wigram, we were too generous! We gave credit to the protestations and oaths of the princes, whom we suffered to remain on their thrones! Now, however coalesced between themselves, they aim at the independence and at the most sacred rights of France. They have commenced the most unjust of aggressions. —Are we no longer the same men ?

" Soldiers, at Jena, when fighting against these very Prussians, now so arrogant, you were as one to two, and at Montmirail, as one to three.

Address to the French army.

" Let those amongst you, who have been in the hands of the English, recite the story of their prison ships, and the evils which they suffered in them.

" The Saxons, Belgians, and Hanoverians, the soldiers of the Rhenish confederation groan at the thought of being obliged to lend their arms to the cause of princes, enemies of justice, and of the rights of nations. They know that this coalition is insatiable. After having devoured TWELVE MILLIONS OF POLES, TWELVE MILLIONS OF ITALIANS, A MILLION OF SAXONS, SIX MILLIONS OF BELGIANS; IT WILL IF PERMITTED, ALSO DEVOUR THE STATES OF THE SECOND CLASS IN GERMANY.

" Fools that they are! a moment of prosperity blinds them. The oppression and the humiliation of the French people are out of their power! If they enter France, there will they find their tomb.

" Soldiers! we have forced marches to make, battles to wage, perils to encounter; but with constancy, the victory will be ours. The rights, the honour of the country, will be reconquered.

" For every Frenchman who possesses a heart, the moment has now arrived either to conquer or perish!"

The Anglo-Belgian army, under the Duke of Wellington, consisted of twenty-four brigades: nine of which were English, ten German, five Dutch and Belgian: and of eleven divisions of cavalry, composed of sixteen English regiments, nine German, and six Dutch. The grand total of the forces under the command of the Duke of Wellington, consisted of one hundred and four thousand, two hundred men, exclusive of eight English

Disposition of the Allied Army.

regiments from America, disembarked at Ostend; an English regiment at Nieuport, a battalion of veterans at Ostend, and the 9th, 25th, 29th, and 37th English regiments, in the strong holds of the Belgian frontier. The Duke's army was divided into two corps d'armee', as follows: the first, under the command of his Royal highness the Prince of Orange, comprising the 1st, 3rd, and 5th, divisions, under the orders of Generals Cooke, Alten, and Picton.

The second corps was commanded by General Lord Hill, and composed of the 2d, 4th, and 5th, divisions; the two former of which were under the orders of Sir. H. Clinton, and General Hinuber; and the 6th, nominally that of Sir L. Cole, who had not yet joined the army.

The British, German legion, Hanoverian, &c. cavalry, consisted of eight brigades, under the command of the Earl of Uxbridge.

The first brigade was commanded by General Lord E. Somerset; the 2d by General Ponsonby; the 3d by General Dornberg; the 4th by General Vandeleur; the 5th by General Vivian; the 6th by General Arantschild; the 7th by General Grant; and the 8th by General Erndorf.

Desirous of taking the Allies by surprise, Napoleon caused an embargo to be laid on all vessels on the coast. The embargo took place on the 11th of June; and on the same day he addressed a letter to Count Lavalette, the postmaster, in which he says, "As I said in my speech this day, that I should depart this night, I wish you would look to it, that no post-horses be taken from

Orders given to the officers

the road by which I travel: that particular attention be paid to the persons to whom horses are given on the neighbouring roads, and that no courier, or *estafette*, be sent off."

In letters written on the same day, he desired that Marshal Massena should take the command of the third and fourth military divisions. Speaking of Marshal Ney, he observes, "Let Ney come, if he wishes to be present at the first battle; he must be at Avesnes by the 13th, where my head-quarters will be.

"Acquaint Marshal Suchet that hostilities will commence on the 16th, and on that day to make himself master of Montmellian."

To the minister of war and marine, he wrote as follows. "To the Prince of Eckmuhl (Davoust) Look to it, that 240 pieces of naval cannon be placed in battery by the 20th, that I may be without anxiety about the city of Paris" To the minister of marine. "I suppose that you have broken off all communication by sea, and that no person or packet-boat dare to pass any more, under any pretence."

On his arrival at Avesnes he issued the following orders to the Generals Soult and Drouet "To the major general—Give orders for the equipages of the pontoons to repair this evening behind Solre, on the road to Beaumont.

"Since General Vandamme is arrived at Beaumont, I do not think it proper to make him return to Philippeville, which would fatigue his troops; I prefer letting this general encamp in the first line, a league and a half from Beaumont; I shall review his troops to-morrow.

Orders given to the officers.

The sixth corps will then be placed a quarter of a league behind. In this case the army of the Moselle will join to-morrow near Philippeville ; the detachment of cuirassiers, coming from Alsace, makes this change in the general order."

To General Drouet. " Give orders for the division composed of the chasseurs and red lancers to repair this evening in advance of the Solre. Let all the divisions of chasseurs likewise repair to Solre. All the grenadiers at Avesnes, the grenadiers on horseback, and the dragoons in advance of Avesnes ; each corps will have its artillery with it ; the reserve artillery in advance of Avesnes."

The next day he addressed the following letter to his brother Joseph, at Paris. " To Prince Joseph.—Brother,—I remove my head-quarters, this evening, to Beaumont ; to-morrow the 15th, I shall advance to Charleroi, where the Prussian army is, which will occasion a battle, or the retreat of the enemy. The army is fine, and the weather pretty fair ; the country perfectly well disposed. I shall write this evening, if the communications are to be made on the 16th ; mean time we must prepare. Adieu."

This letter was accompanied by one to Davoust. " To the minister at war.—I hope to pass the Sambre to-morrow, the 15th. If the Prussians do not evacuate, we shall have a battle. Suchet must take Montmeillan, and fortify himself there. Recommend that there be 10,000 muskets at Lyons to arm the national guards. The 300 cannon of the marine must be placed in batteries at Paris ; let them be there before the 25th ; last-

March of the French army.

ly, let the company of canoneer—march—let them go *en diligence* to Vincennes, on Thursday. Do not be too prodigal of muskets to the federes; we are in great want of them every where."

Every thing being duly adjusted, the French army broke up from Beaumont, at day-break, and pursued their march to the Sambre. Bold and sudden in his movement, Napoleon advanced at all points by Thuin and Lopez, along both banks of the river, upon Charleroi, Marchienne-au pont, and Gosselies; where the first corps of the Prussian army was stationed, under General Ziethen. The 2d corps attacked the out posts of the Prussians, and pursued them as far as Marchienne-au Pont. The light cavalry following the 2d corps as far as Marchienne, turned to the right, after crossing the Sambre, and pushed along the left bank as far as Charleroi. After severe fighting, Charleroi was taken before the Prussians had time to destroy the bridge. Advancing on Gosselies, a large town situated on the road to Brussels, the Prussians retired in confusion on Fleurus, where their main body was concentrated. The presence of Napoleon inspired the French troops. The squadrons of his guard repeatedly charged the Prussian infantry, in one of which charges his aid-de-camp, General Letort, was mortally wounded.

During the night between the 15th and 16th the French head quarters were at Charleroi; that of Marshal Blucher at Namur; the Duke of Wellington's at Brussels. The first corps of the Prusso-Saxon army, enfeebled by the loss of two thousand men, occupied the village of Fleurus by a detachment. The second

Duke of Wellington at Brussels.

corps, which had assembled at Namur, marched all night to join the first at Sombres. The third corps had re-assembled, one part at Namur, and the other at Ciney.

The intelligence of Bonaparte's movements reached Brussels on the evening of the 15th, at which time the Duke of Wellington, and most of his officers, were at a ball given by the Duchess of Richmond. This did not appear to the English general as requiring any other precaution, than giving an order to all the line to be on its guard. On the same evening the Duke received dispatches from Blucher, with the information that Charleroi was taken, and that the French were advancing in the direction of Fleurus; that the French army was one hundred and fifty thousand strong; and that the Emperor was at its head. On this intelligence, the Duke of Wellington immediately despatched an order to all the army to break up its cantonments, assemble each division at the point of concentration, there to await fresh orders. The spectacle at Brussels, as the troops were collecting and falling into their ranks, was peculiarly impressive. It was one o'clock in the morning of the 16th, when the bugle sounded, summoning the soldiers to their rendezvous. The troops commenced their march before day-light. Among the first to muster, were the 42d and 92d highland regiments: they had become great favourites at Brussels. They were so domesticated in the houses where they were quartered, that it was no uncommon thing to see the highlander taking care of the children, or keeping the shop of his host. They had thus gained on the affections of the

Marching of the English army.

Flemings, who, unaccustomed to such mildness and good deportment in soldiers, suspected the valour of these troops. They were so *douce* (they said) that they could not believe they would be a match for the ferocious soldiers of Bonaparté. But the highlanders soon proved that, though gentle as lambs in quarters, they were fierce as lions in the field. With the utmost alacrity they assembled to the well known martial air of "Come to me and I will give you flesh," an invitation to the wolf and to the raven, for which they were about to prepare an ample feast. The march was long and painful. The officers, though they knew that the Prussians had been attacked, did not think that they were on the road to immediate battle. But, as early as five o'clock in the morning of the 16th some Belgian troops, under the command of the Prince of Weimar, were attacked by part of the right wing of the French army, commanded by Marshal Ney. The Prince of Weimar was forced to fall back; but, reinforced by another brigade of the Prince of Orange, was enabled to recover so much of the ground, as to command the communications leading from Nivelles and Brussels, with Marshal Blucher. The combat continued till noon, when the French, greatly re-inforced, returned to the combat with overwhelming numbers. The Prince of Orange, forced to give way, fell upon Quatre Bras.

Marshal Ney received an order in the night to push on at day-break of the 16th, beyond Quatre Bras; to occupy a good cavalry position on the Brussels road, and to guard the causeways of Nivelles and Namur, by his flankers on the right and left. General Girard's

Disposition of the French army

division, in observation opposite Fleurus, was ordered to remain in its position, that it might act under the immediate orders of the Emperor, who, with the centre and right of the army marched to engage the Prussian army, before its fourth corps, commanded by General Bulow, had joined, and ere the Anglo-Belgian army assembled on its right.

The Emperor, visited the chain of out-posts mounted on the heights, and reconnoitred the position of the enemy's army. Marshal Blucher, not expecting to be attacked that day, thought there would be time to complete the assembling of his troops, and that he would be supported on his right by the Anglo-Belgian army, which was to march on Quatre Bras by the causeways of Brussels and Nivelles on the 17th.

Marsh Ney, instead of executing his orders to take position in front of Quatre Bras, was stopped by the cannonade heard on his right flank, and by the reports which he had received, that the Anglo-Belgian and Prusso-Saxon armies, had already effected a junction in the environs of Fleurus ; under these circumstances, he concluded that if he continued the above movement, he must inevitably be turned ; he declared, however, that he was ready to execute the orders which the Emperor might send him, when the latter was informed of this new incident. The Emperor blamed him for having already lost eight hours ; what he pretended to be a new incident, had existed since the evening before ; he, therefore, reiterated the order to push on beyond Quatre Bras, and directed that as soon as the Marshal took position, he should detach a column of eight thou-

Duke of Brunswick killed

Quatre Bras. Halting a few yards in front of the 92d regiment, he was exposed to a heavy fire of round shot and grape. His aspect was that of cool seriousness. Looking intently at various parts of the field, in the direction of the firing, and frequently pulling out his watch, he appeared to be calculating on the arrival of the regiments not yet come up. The French troops fought with the most determined valour; the attacks of the cuirassiers, in particular, were impetuous, and dreadful. The British troops stood firm. The general wish was to charge the enemy with the bayonet, without awaiting his attack. Lord Wellington remarked on the following day, that, he "never saw his troops behave better, during the number of years he had commanded them."

The brigade under the command of Sir James Kempt, was the first which was warmly engaged. They succeeded in arresting the progress of the enemy in the centre. The Royals and 42d, sent to their support, suffered severely. The 44th was next ordered to that point. During three hours, the troops in the centre, were resolutely engaged, with alternate success. From half past three, until six in the evening, the French maintained a heavy fire, and twice attempted to carry the right of the British position. The Brunswick troops were falling back before overwhelming numbers. Fresh columns advanced to their support; and, at this time, their brave leader was killed. Leading on his men, amidst a fire of grape shot, a ball passed through his bridle hand, and entered his body. He fell—and, in ten minutes breathed his last. Their leader having

Colonel Douglas wounded.

fallen, his troops gave way. The enemy pursued ; but, the brave 92d, posted behind a ditch, on the right of the road from Brussels to Fleurus, and in whose centre the commander in chief was stationed, opened such a fire upon the enemy's cavalry, as compelled them to retire in disorder. Returning, however, about four o'clock with considerable reinforcements, the French endeavoured by another furious attack, to gain the right of the British position. They were, however, repulsed with great loss. The 79th regiment, which eminently distinguished itself, suffered severely. Its commanding Officer, Colonel Douglass, who had been previously hit by three balls, was severely wounded towards the close of the day, but still maintained his post.

The royal Scots were led to the charge by their gallant commander, Sir Thomas Picton. Advancing through a corn-field, under the most destructive fire, they surmounted all difficulties, charged and routed the columns of the enemy. For the purpose of resisting the cavalry, they formed into a square, and though charged six or seven times, remained immovable. A part of the enemy's cavalry had at one period nearly reached some guns, close to Quatre Bras, near the spot where the Duke of Wellington was standing ; but, being promptly and vigorously attacked by a battalion of young Hanoverians, were entirely cut off. The 92d regiment distinguished itself, by the performance of prodigies of valour ; repulsing the enemies columns with the most dreadful slaughter. The 44th, 33rd, and 32d, greatly signalized themselves.

Thus the combat continued for several hours, with

Courage of the Highlanders.

various success, and doubtful issue. The French continued to pour in fresh troops, and the British to resist their efforts. The third division, in order to threaten the enemy's right, and operate in favour of the Prussians, who were engaged with Bonaparté, moved to the left, while a brigade of guards, and part of the first division, remained at Quatre Bras. The combat raged with the utmost fury about seven o'clock, when the fire of the French artillery was tremendous. Through the volumes of smoke, the French were advancing with all their force for another struggle. As they approached, the fire of the artillery slackened, and the sanguinary conflict commenced. The Duke, who was with the 92d regiment, turned to them, and said with energy, "Ninety second you must charge these fellows." The order was instantly obeyed. With irresistible ardor they rushed against the black battalions. Colonel Cameron, and three other officers of rank, were at this moment mortally wounded. The death of their leader, infuriated the highlanders, who took such ample vengeance on the enemy, that the field was covered with the dying and the dead. The 92d pursued them for a mile, until they came near the main body of the enemy, when they retired to a wood.

The battle now raged in the centre, and on the right. The French attempted to separate the divisions of the British army; and still occupied the wood, which commanded the right of the allied position. The division of the guards under General Maitland, having newly come up, were commanded by the Duke to drive the enemy from the wood. Advancing to the charge, the

Loss of the Allied army.

tirailleurs of the enemy fled before them. Their light troops, however, advanced in such overwhelming numbers, that they regained possession of the wood, which, after three hours desperate fighting, was finally wrested from them.

The French being now in the utmost confusion, Ney, who had left the 1st corps in reserve, determined to bring it up: but on sending for it, found that Bonaparté had employed it in his own aid against the Prussians. Thus disappointed, he ordered up the reserve of the second corps, to cover his broken battallions; and, finally retired to his former position at Frasnes, leaving the British the undisputed masters of the field.

The loss of the British in this action, was severe: the cavalry and artillery not having come up, they fought under the greatest disadvantage. The loss, including many gallant officers, amounted to 2,251 killed and wounded, and thirty one missing. The total loss, including the Hanoverians, Dutch, Belgians, Brunswickers, &c. consisted of about 5,000 men; the loss of the French was about 4,200. The field of battle was covered with the slain. The number of dead bodies round Quatre Bras, was very great. Three hundred holes were made in a house at Place Nay, by the bullets which had entered it.

During the engagement between Marshal Ney, and the allies under the command of the Duke of Wellington, Bonaparté had marched with the whole of his remaining force against the Prussian army, posted at Sombref. Marshal Blucher occupied a strong position, defended by artillery and infantry.

Renewal of the engagement.

The battle commenced at three in the afternoon by a furious cannonade from the French. The first effort was to turn the right of the Prussian army. The village of St. Amand was attacked by Lefol's division; and gallantly defended by the Prussians. The French, charging, however, with the bayonet, gained possession of the village, and established themselves in the church, and church-yard. The Prussians made several attempts to regain it, and the combat was obstinate and sanguinary. The village was at length stormed and recovered by the Prussians; but was retaken by the enemy.

At Ligny, the combat was most severe and destructive. This memorable village stands upon a small river of the same name. The most determined efforts of the French were directed against this important spot, while the utmost bravery of the Prussians, was exerted in its defence. For upwards of four hours, the possession of the village was disputed. Blucher, in person, and sword in hand, continually led his troops to the contest. The charges of the cavalry were severe and destructive. In one of the Prussian charges, conducted by Blucher, that brave general, had a narrow escape of death or captivity. A shot struck the Marshal's horse. It dropped down dead. Its rider lay entangled under it, stunned by the fall. The enemy pursuing the charge, passed by without perceiving the veteran chief. The enemy being repulsed, the gallant Blucher was relieved from his perilous situation, and, as soon as he was extricated, mounting a dragoon horse, he exclaimed, "well, my brave fellows, let us charge them again." The combat continued with unabated fury. Blucher was on the

Conflict at Ligny.

point of separating the enemies' line, and turning the left of his main body. This bright gleam was, however, of short duration ; for, accounts were now received, that, the English division, destined for their support, was furiously attacked by a French corps, and could scarcely maintain itself at Quatre Bras. The corps under the command of Bulow, had not appeared, according to expectation ; and, no benefit could arise from it during the day. Ligny was still occupied ; but there the combat raged with fury, and with double success. At this point, the Westphalian and Berg regiments fought with the greatest resolution. Of the former, a whole company fell in the court yard of the church, and on the terrace, lay fifty dead. The houses on each side, were converted into a fortress by the parties who respectively occupied them. Driven out four times, the French resumed the ground which they had lost ; until, at length, the village was set on fire by the enemy, and the combat continued amidst the burning houses. All the Prussian troops had by this time been engaged. The enemy continued to pour in fresh troops. The Prussian masses still continued unbroken, on the heights of Bussy, and Ligny. The Emperor had deprived Marshal Ney of the first corps of his army, without consulting him ; as well as of a division of Girard's corps, both of which were necessary to the support of the Marshal. At Sombref, General Thielman with the third corps, remained immovable. Bonaparté resolved, therefore to complete his success, by one of those skilful manœuvres, which distinguished his tactics. He drew up his imperial guard, which he had hitherto kept in reserve, in

Conflict at Ligny.

the front of the centre of the Prussian line. Eight battalions of these troops, formed into one solid column, supported by four squadrons of cavalry, two regiments of *cuirassiers*, and the horse grenadiers of the guard, traversing the village of Ligny, threw themselves into the ravine which separates the village from the heights, and notwithstanding a tremendous fire of grape and musketry began to ascend. Unimpeded by this dreadful fire, they continued to ascend the heights of Bussy, and made such an impression on the masses of the Prussians, as to threaten the centre of their army. The impetuosity of the French grenadiers, surmounted every obstacle. Supported by the *cuirassiers*, the division of Pechux made a circuit round Ligny, and came unobserved upon the Prussian force, posted behind the houses. It was now dark. "The movement made by the enemy," said Blucher, "is *decisive*." Formed in masses, the Prussian columns repulsed the attacks made upon them, and retreated in good order upon the heights. The artillery belonging to the Prussian army, having got into desiles, fifteen pieces were taken by the enemy. The loss of the Prussians, in the battle of Ligny, amounted upon the lowest computation to 20,000 men; that of the French was also severe. In the short space of two days, upwards of 40,000 men had fallen in the three armies.

The British troops, though destitute of cavalry and artillery, had repulsed the enemy of Quatre Bras; and prevented Ney from turning the right wing of the allied army, which Bonaparté had projected. Had this taken place, it would, probably, have been decisive of the

Battle of the sixteenth July.

conflict. The withdrawal of the first corps from Marshal Ney, prevented his gaining this advantage; for, when Bonaparté, having succeeded against the Prussians, returned the first corps to Ney, he could make no use of it; the British army having come up. The failure at Quatre Bras, was the source of all the disasters which followed.

During the retreat of the Prussian army, the British general, and the army under his command, remained at Quatre Bras. The Duke was here exposed to all the privations of the meanest soldier. His pillow was the open field. Cold and fatigued, he was anxious for a fire, which, after some difficulty, was kindled by the 92d regiment. By the morning of the 17th, he had placed the whole of his forces in the position of Quatre Bras, and was planning an attack upon Ney, at Frasnes; when he received a communication from Blucher, stating the disastrous state of his affairs; he therefore resolved on retreating towards Brussels.

The battle of the 16th, was contested on both sides, with the utmost resolution. The first, and third corps of the French army, had hoisted the *black* flag; but, their animosity was chiefly directed against the Prussians.

In consequence of the retreat of the allied armies, the French claiming a brilliant victory, telegraphic bulletins were transmitted to France. Three of these were received at Boulogne, and Paris was illuminated.

At day-break on the 17th, General Pajol, with a division of infantry, headed by the sixth corps, moved in pursuit of the Prussian army, in the direction of Wavres,

Battle of the seventeenth

by Tilly and Gembloux. Marshal Ney was ordered to march on Quatre Bras, at the dawn of day, and to make a spirited attack on the English rear-guard. With a view to favour Ney's attack, by taking the English army on its flank, Count Lobau, with two divisions of infantry of his own corps, his light artillery, and Milhaud's cuirassiers, marched by the causeway of Namur, on Quatre Bras. For the purpose of supporting General Pajol, and of following Blucher with rapidity in order to prevent him from rallying, Marshal Grouchy set out, with Excelman's corps of cavalry, and the third and fourth corps of infantry. His orders were absolute to keep between the causeway, leading from Charleroi to Brussels, and the Prussian general; so as to be in continual communication with the army, and in circumstances to rejoin it, if necessary. Contemplating the retiring of Marshal Blucher on Wavres, the object of this order, was, that Grouchy should reach it simultaneously. If, on the contrary, Blucher should pass the night covered by the forest of Soignes, Grouchy was to follow him to the borders of the forest. Should he retire on the Meuse, for the purpose of covering his communications with Germany, then he was to be observed by General Pajol's advanced guard, while he himself should occupy Wavres, with Excelman's cavalry, and the third and fourth corps of infantry; in order to keep in communication with the head-quarters, which marched on the causeway from Charleroi to Brussels. In this order, the French army marched on Brussels, in two columns, the one composed of sixty nine thousand men, and the other of thirty four thousand.

Conflict at Quatre Bras.

Having visited the field of battle, and caused every possible assistance to be given to the wounded, the Emperor galloped on, to reach Quatre Bras, with Lobau's cavalry. Joining it at the village of Marchais, and arriving in sight of the farm of Quatre Bras, he found that it was still occupied by a corps of English cavalry. Shortly after, a reconnoitering party of a hundred French hussars returned, closely pursued by a regiment of British cavalry. The French cavalry took post; the cuirassiers of Milhaud on the right, the light cavalry on the left, the infantry placing itself in second line, while the batteries were put in position. Officers were sent to Ney, to press him to adyance immediately to Quatre Bras; Count Lobau marched forward. Lord Uxbridge, who had been left with a corps of cavalry and batteries of light artillery, as a rear-guard, retired as soon as he perceived the corps of Count Lobau. The Emperor, immediately upon his arrival at the farm of Quatre Bras, caused twelve pieces of artillery to be put in battery, and which were instantly engaged with two English batteries. Rain now fell in torrents, but the troops did not stir. Count d'Erlon took the head of the column, and preparing to make an attack on the English rear-guard, was followed by General Reille, with the 2nd corps. When Marshal Ney made his appearance, the Emperor expressed his dissatisfaction at his tardiness, and the loss of three most precious hours. The Marshal, in excuse, stated, that he believed Wellington, with his whole army, was still at Quatre Bras. The Emperor marched at the head of the army. The weather was now dreadful; the soldiers, ankle-deep in

Error of Marshal Grouchy.

water on the causeway, and up to their knees in the low grounds ; the artillery could not pass over them ; while the cavalry did so with extreme difficulty. About six o'clock in the evening, the allied army, which had supported its retreat with only a few pieces of cannon, unmasked fifteen. The weather being now extremely foggy, it was probable, that, as the distance was not far from the forest of Soignes, the allied army would endeavour to keep that position during the night. In order to ascertain this point, Milhaud's cuirassiers, under the protection of four batteries of light artillery, threatened to charge ; when the allied army unmasked fifty or sixty pieces of cannon. As it would have required two hours more of day-light to make the attack ; the French army took post in front of Planchenoit ; with its head-quarters established at the farm of Cailloux.

Marshal Grouchy, in his pursuit of Blucher, had taken the routes of Mont Guiber and Gembloux ; but, having been induced to believe that the greater part of the Prussian army had retired by Gembloux, he marched with his principal forces on that point. Arriving there on the 16th, at four o'clock in the afternoon, he learned that Bulow's corps arrived there at night, and had not been present at the battle ; he immediately sent reconnoitring parties towards Wavres, and Liege, in the track of the enemy's rear-guard ; and, though he had only marched two leagues, made his troops take post. Towards night, positive information reached him, that the principal forces of the enemy, had directed themselves upon Wavres ; but, as it was then past six o'clock, and the troops were refreshing themselves, he thought it

Orders of the Emperor.

would be time enough to follow the enemy in the morning, and by that fatal resolution lost the battle of Waterloo !

The rain continuing to fall during the night, rendered all the low grounds impracticable for artillery, and cavalry, and even for infantry. At nine o'clock at night, it was ascertained that a column of the enemy's cavalry, had fallen back in the greatest haste from Tilly to Wavres. A corps of two thousand cavalry was directed to march on Halle, threatening to turn the right of the forest of Soignes, and to march on Brussels. The Duke of Wellington, sent his 4th division of infantry there. The French cavalry, therefore, returned to their camp at night, while the English division remained in observation.

At ten o'clock at night, the Emperor sent an officer to Marshal Grouchy, supposed to be near Wavres, to acquaint him that there would be a great battle on the following day ; and ordering him to detach a division of seven thousand men of all arms, and six pieces of cannon, from his camp, before day-light, to St. Lambert, in order to their joining the right of the grand army, and cooperating with it ; and, that, as soon as he should ascertain that Marshal Blucher had evacuated Wavres, either to continue his retreat on Brussels, or to move in any other direction, he should march with the rest of his troops, to support the detachment already sent to St. Lambert.

At eleven o'clock at night, a report from Marshal Grouchy was received, which stated, that he was in the village of Gembloix, with his army and ignorant of the

Alarm at Brussels.

direction which Marshal Blucher had taken; that he had, in consequence, established two advanced guards, the one between Gembloux and Wavres, and the other at a league from Gembloux, towards Liege. Thus, Blucher had escaped him, while he was, in point of fact, only three leagues from him! A second officer was sent to Grouchy, at four o'clock in the morning, to reiterate the order which had been conveyed to him at ten o'clock at night. 'At five o'clock in the morning, a fresh report was received from Grouchy, dated Gembloux, two o'clock in the morning, stating the circumstance of his having learned that Blucher had proceeded with all his forces on Wavres; that he had in consequence wished to follow him instantly; but, that the troops, having halted and prepared their supper, he would not move until day-light, which would have the same effect; and that the soldiers would then be refreshed and full of ardour.

In consequence of the retreat of the allied armies, the news of which had reached Brussels, its inhabitants were reduced to the utmost consternation. Reports the most contradictory were in circulation; but, the cannonading continued, and apparently approached nearer. Unable to rest, the British visitants and citizens wandered about the park, or stood upon the ramparts, listening to the heavy cannonade, which towards ten o'clock became gradually fainter, and soon after entirely ceased. An intelligent eye-witness has furnished the following account of the anxiety of the inhabitants. "Between twelve and one we suddenly heard the noise of the rapid rolling of heavy carriages, in long succession, passing through the Place Royale, mingled with

Consternation at Brussels.

the loud cries and exclamations of the people below. For some minutes we listened in silence—faster and faster, and louder and louder, the long train of carriages continued to roll through the town ; the cries of the affrighted people increased. In some alarm, we hastily ran out to inquire the cause of this tumult : the first person we encountered was a scared fille-de-chambre, who exclaimed in a most piteous tone—“ *Les Francois sont tout pres—dans une petite demi-heure ils seront ici,* (The French are close at hand, they will be here in less than half an hour.) *Que ferons nous !* What shall we do ! (What shall we do !) *Il faut partir tout de suite,* (let us fly directly.) Questions were in vain—she could only reiterate “ The French are close at hand ;”—and then renew her acclamations and lamentations. As we flew down stairs, the house seemed deserted, every room-door was open—the candles were left burning on the tables—every body had run out into the Place-Royale—at the bottom of the stairs, a group of affrighted Belgians were assembled—consternation pictured on their faces. They could only tell us, that intelligence had been brought of a large body of French having been seen advancing through the woods to take Brussels, that they were within half-an-hour’s march of the city, (which was wholly undefended,) and that the English army was in full retreat. “ It’s too true, it’s too true,” was repeated on every side, “ and the train of artillery that was passing through” (they said) “ was retreating !” We had soon, however, the satisfaction of finding this was not the case, that the artillery were passing through to join the army—that they were not retreating, but ad-

Consternation at Brussels

vancing; and, finding that the report of the French being within half-an-hours march of the city, rested only on the authority of some Belgians, our alarm gradually subsided. Some people, indeed, took their departure—but as the French did not make their appearance, some went to-bed, and others lay down in their clothes, by no means assured that their slumbers might not be broken by the entrance of the French.

“ In fact, between five and six, we were roused by a loud knocking at the door, and the cries of “ *Les Francois sont ici—Les Francois sont ici.*” Starting up, the first sight we beheld was a troop of Belgic cavalry; covered, not with glory but with mud, galloping through the town at full-speed, as if the enemy were at their heels; and immediately the heavy baggage-waggons, which had been harnessed from the moment of the first alarm, set off full gallop down La Montagne de la Cour, and through every street by which it was possible to effect their escape. In less than two minutes, the great square of the Place Royale, which had been crowded with men and horses, carts and baggage-waggons, was completely cleared of every thing, and entirely deserted. Again were the cries repeated of “ *Les Francois sont ici!—Ils s’emparent de la porte de la ville!*” (The French are at the gates of the town.) The doors of all the bed rooms were thrown open; the people flew out in their night-caps, scarcely half-dressed, and looking quite distractèd, running about pale and trembling they knew not whither, with packages under their arms—some carrying huge heterogeneous collections of things down to the cellars, and others loaded with their property

Consternation at Brussels.

flying up to the garrets. The poor fille-de-chambre, nearly frightened out of her wits, was standing wringing her hands, unable to articulate any thing but "*Les Francois—Les Francois!*" while the cook exclaimed with more dignity, "*Nous sommes tous perdus!*" (We are all lost.)

" In the court-yard below, a scene of the most dreadful confusion ensued ; description can give but a faint idea of the scuffle that took place to get at the horses and carriages ; the squabbling of masters and servants, ostlers, chambermaids, coachmen, and gentlemen, all scolding at once, and swearing in French, English, and Flemish ; while every opprobrious epithet and figure of speech, which the three languages contained, were exhausted upon each other ; and the confusion of tongues could scarcely have been exceeded by that of the Tower of Babel. Some made use of supplication, and others had recourse to force ; words were followed by blows. One half of the Belgic drivers refused either to go themselves, or let their beasts go, and with many gesticulations, called upon all the saints and angels in heaven to witness that they would not set out—no, not to save the Prince of Orange himself ; and neither love, nor money, nor threats, nor intreaties, could induce them to alter this determination. Those who had horses, or means of procuring them, set out with most astonishing expedition, and one English carriage after another took the road to Antwerp."

The defeat which the Prussians had sustained was known at Brussels, and the corpse of the Duke of Brunswick having passed through during the night had

Preparations for the Seventeenth.

made a considerable impression upon the minds of the people. Waggon filled with the wounded increased the general despondency. Every hour added to the dismay. The alarm was so great that one hundred Napoleons were offered in vain for a pair of horses to go to Antwerp, about thirty miles.

"It is impossible" says the author, whose description we have copied, "to imagine the strong over-powering anxiety of being so near such eventful scenes, without being able to learn what is really passing. To know that within a few miles such an awful contest is deciding—to hear even the distant voice of war—to think that in the roar of every cannon, your brave countrymen are falling, bleeding, and dying—to dread that your friends, even those dearest to you, may be the victims—to endure the long and protracted suspense—the constant agitation—the varying reports—the incessant alarms—the fluctuating hopes, and doubts, and fears—none but those who have felt what it is can understand it."

During the night of the 17th, the Emperor, gave the necessary orders for the battle of the following day. The shades of a gloomy night were succeeded by a cheerless dawn. Sullen clouds obscured the face of heaven, and blackened the approach of this eventful day.

The French army moved forward, marching in eleven columns, arranged as follows; viz—four to form the first line, four the second, and three the third. The four columns of the first line were, that of the left, formed by the cavalry of the second corps; the second, formed by three divisions of infantry of the second corps; the

Position of the French army.

third, by the four divisions of infantry of the first corps; the fourth, by the light cavalry of the first corps. The four columns of the second line; first, that of the left, formed by Kellerman's corps of cuirassiers; the second, by the two divisions of infantry of the sixth corps; the third, by two divisions of light cavalry, the one, that of the sixth corps, commanded by the General of Division, Daumont; the other, detached from Pajol's corps, and commanded by the General of Division, Subervie: the fourth by the corps of cuirassiers of Milhaud. The three columns of the third line were, that of the left, formed by the division of horse grenadiers, and of dragoons of the guard, commanded by General Guyot; the second by the three divisions of the old, middle, and young guard, commanded by Lieutenant-Generals Friant, Morand, and Duhesme; the third, by the mounted chasseurs and the lancers of the guard, commanded by Lieutenant-General Lefebvre Desnouettes. The artillery marched on the flanks of the columns, while the parks and travelling hospitals were kept in the rear.

“A battle,” says Bonaparté, with reference to this anticipated combat, “is a dramatic action, which has a commencement, a middle, and an end. The order of battle which the two armies assume, the first movements which are made to engage, may be called the opening scene; the counter movements made by the party attacked, form the under plot; this leads to new incidents; these bring on the crisis, from which proceeds the catastrophe.”

It was near eleven o'clock when the battle commenced

Commencement of the battle

by a fire of musketry from Prince Jerome's division on the left, directed against Hougoumont. The action soon became warm; the allies having unmasked nearly forty pieces of cannon. This post was occupied by a detachment of guards, from General Byng's brigade, and two brigades of artillery, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Mc Donald, and subsequently by colonel Home. The moment Jerome's division made its appearance, the nine-pounders opened a tremendous fire upon his columns. Jerome, however, carried the wood of Hougoumont several times, but was as often repulsed from it. The impetuosity of the French troops was astonishing, and the fire of their artillery tremendous. The English guards covered the wood and the avenues of the castle with their dead; but, after various vicissitudes, which occupied a great part of the day, the whole of the wood remained in the possession of the French; the castle, however, defended by some hundreds of intrepid English troops, opposed an invincible resistance. About three o'clock, Bonaparté, finding that Jerome was unable to drive the guards from Hougoumont, ordered the chateau to be set on fire. The shells which were brought to bear upon the houses, soon accomplished this object; but the British troops retiring into the garden continued to contest every inch of ground. Several British soldiers who had been wounded, and were too ill to be removed, fell a prey to the flames. The conflict maintained at this spot was eminently destructive to both sides. A British officer, sent out with twenty men returned with one; being again sent out with one hundred and fifty, he returned with fifty.

Bravery of a French officer.

The French now attacked the whole line of the British right wing, with successive columns of cavalry, rolling after each other like waves of the sea. Supported by a most destructive fire of artillery, they threatened to sweep every thing before them. The Belgian horse gave way, and galloped from the field in the utmost confusion. Several pieces fell into the hands of the French, whose cavalry rode furiously up and down among the small squares of British infantry, seeking some point where they might break in upon them. The French displayed at this period of the battle the utmost degree of bravery; the English to an equal share of courage united the most exemplary coolness.

Two British officers of artillery, belonging to a square which was repeatedly charged, rushed out of it the moment the cavalry retreated, and loading one of the deserted guns, discharged it upon the retreating horsemen. A French officer, observing this, stationed himself on the next retreat close to the gun; and, waving his sword, defied the British officers to approach it. He was, however, soon shot by a grenadier; but, prevented by this act of self-devotion, a considerable destruction of his countrymen. Another French officer, after leading his men forward, finding himself deserted by them, rushed upon the bayonets of his antagonists, and threw open his arms, as if to welcome the death which was inevitable. Hitherto, the French had been unable to break the British line; but, the situation of the latter was becoming critical. The Duke of Wellington had stationed his best troops in front; these having suffered dreadfully, it became necessary to bring for-

Defection of the Belgians.

ward troops from the second line. These not being of equal quality, could not be implicitly depended upon ; and some of them were found unequal to the task. The Duke, himself, witnessed a Belgian regiment giving way at the instant it crossed the ridge of the hill ; he immediately rode up to them, halted the regiment and reformed it, intending to lead them into the fire himself. They instantly shouted, *En avant ! En avant !* (Forward ! Forward !) but, as soon as they again encountered the storm of balls and shells, they instantly went to the right-about, and abandoned the Duke ! He then brought up a Brunswick regiment, who kept their ground, and behaved with steadiness.

The combat still raged with unabated fury. "The British army," as Blucher observed, fought with a valor which nothing could surpass." The arrival of the Prussians was most anxiously expected.

At two o'clock in the afternoon, General Daumont communicated, that Bulow formed in three columns ; and estimated his force to be more than forty thousand strong ; adding that his best mounted scouts, had brought no news of Marshal Grouchy, whose assistance was not therefore to be depended upon. Instead of setting out from Gembloux at dawn of day, as his own dispatch announced, Grouchy had not quitted his camp at ten o'clock !

The cannonade between General Bulow and Count de Lobau, was now commenced. The Prussian army marched in echelon, the centre in front. The echelon of the centre unmasked a battery of thirty guns, to which the French artillery opposed an equal number. The

Engagement at Belle Alliance.

fire of the Prussian batteries was afterwards doubled—the balls fell on the causeway, in front, and in rear of La Belle Alliance, where the Emperor was stationed with his guard; the Emperor, immediately ordered General Duhesme, to march on the right of the sixth corps, with his two brigades of infantry, and twenty-four pieces of cannon. After various manœuvres, General Bulow was repulsed. The Prussian bullets no longer reached the causeway of Charleroi; nor did they even approach the positions previously occupied by Count de Lobau.

The French continuing, throughout the day, to make charge after charge upon the British line, victory appeared continually doubtful. The Duke of Wellington animating his men, was exposed to the hottest fire. Repeatedly throwing himself into the midst of the squares, he exposed his person with a freedom, which though absolutely necessary, excited the greatest fear for a life upon which the fate of the battle so obviously depended. Encouraging the men by his presence, and the officers by his directions, many of his short phrases are still repeated by them with fond recollections. Standing in the centre of the road, in front of Mont St John, several pieces were directed against him. The balls repeatedly grazed a tree, which now bears his name. "That is good practice" observed the Duke "I think they fire better than they did in Spain." Riding up to the 95th, who were anticipating a charge of cavalry, he exclaimed, "Stand fast, 95th, we must not be beat—what will they say in England?" When many of the bravest men had fallen, and the victory appeared

Attack on the Prussians

doubtful, he observed with coolness, "Never mind, we'll win the battle yet." To another regiment, warmly engaged, he observed, "Hard pounding this, gentlemen, let's see who will pound longest."

The anxiety of the Duke for the sufferings of his gallant army was now intense "I saw him," said a person who was present, "pull out his watch several times, calculating, no doubt, when the Prussians would arrive" "Would to God," he was heard to exclaim, "Would to God that night Blucher would come." Blucher, himself, unwell from the bruises which he had received on the 16th, was in bed when he received the information that Wellington was attacked. He instantly arose, and putting himself at the head of the first corps, hastened to the field of battle; but, owing to the state of the roads, from the late incessant rains, it was past four o'clock in the afternoon before two brigades only of the fourth corps arrived at the covered position which was assigned them. General Bulow resolved to commence the attack with what forces were come up The Prussians immediately advanced towards Planchenoit, against the enemy's right wing The Emperor, however, did not lose his presence of mind He had anticipated a movement of that description, and provided for it. By a letter intercepted the preceding evening, he had ascertained that fifteen thousand Prussians were to arrive on his right. When this small body of Prussians appeared, he immediately sent his reserve under Count Lobau against them; and a most sanguinary contest took place. Bonaparte still entertained hopes of beating the British army. "These English," said he,

French officer killed by Cap Kelly.

“are devils, yet, though they fight bravely, they must give way soon.” Soult, however, told him that their giving way was improbable. “And why not,” said Napoleon. “Because,” replied Soult, “they will rather be cut to pieces.” Napoleon thought otherwise, and observed jestingly, “I shall yet be in Brussels time enough for supper.”

Having forced the Prussians back with considerable loss, and separated them from the British army, the Emperor now determined to augment his success by following up the attack upon the British centre. About six in the evening, he made a vigorous attack with the whole cavalry of his guard. The Duke, however, who was at this point, charged them with three battalions of Brunswickers, and compelled them to abandon their artillery. The Earl of Uxbridge, at this time made some brilliant charges with his cavalry, and repelled the enemy. Two battalions of the old guard were cut to pieces. Directing one of the charges, the Earl of Uxbridge, exclaimed, “Now for the honour of the household troops; they will add to themselves new laurels;” and turning to the Duke of Wellington, he said, “We shall know whether our household troops are not more than a match for their invincibles.” Captain Kelly, of the Life-guards, in a charge, encountered the colonel of the first regiment of cuirassiers; and by one blow, cleaved his helmet through, cutting his head half asunder. Having fallen, Captain Kelly dismounted, and tearing off the *epaulet* of the French officer, secured it as a trophy. When the regiment returned, the Duke of Wellington, and the Earl of Uxbridge, returned them

Crisis of the battle of Waterloo.

thanks for their bravery ; and the Earl, addressing Captain Kelly, said, " I particularly noticed you—it was well done, and I shall report you for promotion."

It was now near seven o'clock in the evening, the battle still raging. Only the fourth corps of the Prussian army had as yet come up. As Marshal Blucher was approaching the eventful scene, he received a communication from General Thielman, stating that he was hard pressed at Wavre, and in need of assistance. Blucher observed, that he " did not suffer himself to be disturbed by this news ; it was on the spot where he was, *and nowhere else*, that the affair was to be decided." Had Blucher deferred his advance another half-hour, the most fatal consequences must have ensued to the allied army.

The battle continued to rage on the heights of Mount St. John. The carnage in both armies was dreadful—the moment critical. The fifth division was reduced from six thousand to one thousand eight hundred men. The 92d, to less than two hundred. The Emperor and his army were in a critical situation, but, as yet, he thought things were going on well. Having succeeded in repulsing the Prussian troops under Bulow ; and supposing Grouchy was near at hand to attack them in the rear, he resolved upon making one desperate attack upon the left centre of the British army. For this purpose, he brought forward the reserve of his guards, amounting to about fifteen thousand men.

Having taken this resolution, he dispatched instructions to every part of the line, that the decisive movement was about to take place. Every thing being ready

Prince of Orange wounded.

for the final attack, the Emperor addressed his guards, and informed them that he had destroyed the greater part of the British cavalry and infantry, and that the artillery alone remained, which they were to attack with the bayonet. Leading them to the rise of the hill, and pointing to the causeway, he exclaimed, "There, gentlemen, is the road to Brussels." The guards immediately shouted "*Vive l'Empereur,*" which being distinctly heard by the British, induced them to believe that the Emperor, himself, was about to attack them. Bonaparté then desired Ney to head them, and these veteran warriors, esteemed the first troops in Europe, advanced across the plain which separated the two armies, with a firmness, which grape and cannister-shot could not disconcert for a single moment: They charged a body of Brunswickers, who attempted to arrest their progress, and drove them back with immense slaughter. The Duke of Wellington was now obliged to bring up his reserve. He rallied the Brunswick troops, saying; "my brave men we must not be beat." Putting himself at their head, he charged the enemy, and again restored the combat. He exposed himself at this time to every kind of personal danger: The Prince of Orange, and the Belgian troops, conducted themselves with great bravery, occupying that part of the line which Marshal Ney attacked in person. In this attack, the Prince was wounded by a ball in the shoulder, and removed from the field. The French continued fighting with great resolution, notwithstanding the havoc made in their ranks by the British artillery; closing up their shattered ranks with the greatest coolness. The first brigade of

Attack of the English guards

guards, and a Dutch brigade, made a terrible slaughter amongst them. The imperial guard, however, advanced again to the attack, covered by their artillery. The British foot-guards, who had been lying on the ground, in order to avoid the fire of the enemy's artillery, were now ordered to rise. The Duke had watched the approach of the enemy; and, when they were within a hundred yards of his men, he exclaimed, "Up guards, and at them." In an instant they sprang up, and rushed upon the attacking columns with the bayonet. The British guards had been disposed in line, instead of the squares which they had generally occupied. The line was, however, of unusual depth, consisting of four ranks, instead of two. "You have stood cavalry in this order," said the Duke, "and can, therefore, find no difficulty in charging infantry." Firing a well directed volley, and giving three cheers, they rushed to the charge, which the imperial guard could not withstand. In this instance, the British and French guards were for the first time opposed to each other. The shock was tremendous. Refusing to give or take quarter, the carnage was appalling. The French guards at length began to give way, in the utmost confusion. The tirailleurs of the imperial-guard, attempted to cover their retreat, and did considerable execution among the British; but, being charged by a body of cavalry, they fled in disorder.

During this last attack, the whole of the fourth corps, and a part of the second corps of the Prussian army, had come up; attacking as they arrived the right wing of the French, with the most determined resolution. Marshal Blucher had also joined with the first corps.

Defeat of the French army.

The Prussians who had now arrived on the right of the French army, amounted to forty thousand men.

The Duke of Wellington witnessed the determined advance of the Prussians with the highest satisfaction. "There goes old Blucher at last, and like himself," exclaimed the Duke. He now felt that the victory was his. He had observed the confusion with which the French had retired from his last attack, and that the march of General Bulow upon Planchenoit had begun to take effect. Ordering the whole line of infantry, supported by the cavalry and artillery, to advance against the enemy, he put himself at the head of the foot-guards; and having addressed a few words to them, he led them on with his hat in his hand. Notwithstanding the fire of the enemy from one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, the whole army advanced with the greatest intrepidity. The contest was now a perfect massacre. The French artillery-men having deserted their guns, the army fled in consternation. Whole columns threw down their arms; and one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, with their ammunition, fell into the hands of the victorious army. General Zeithen, at the head of the Prussian corps, with which Blucher was present, charged the right flank of the enemy, while the Duke of Wellington attacked them in front. The right wing of the French army was broken in three places.

The French army holding the village of Planchenoit in their rear, had still the means of retreat. The Prussians advanced against it. The old guard stood firm to the last, but the place was at length stormed. From this moment the route was general; and the road soon

Retreat of the French army.

became filled with fugitives, equipages, cannon, and wrecks of every description. Cavalry, infantry, and artillery, were blended in a general confusion; dragoons rode over foot-soldiers, and trampled them to death. This state of things had been induced and perpetuated by the fatal cry of "*sauve qui peut.*"

At a small public-house near the farm-house of La Belle Alliance, the Duke of Wellington and Marshal Blucher met—embraced and congratulated each other upon their decisive success. The British army which had been engaged nine hours, and was exhausted with fatigue and hunger, was now halted; while the Prussian army continued the pursuit during the night. About half past nine o'clock, Marshal Blucher assembled his superior officers, and gave orders for every man and horse to be sent in pursuit. The weather having now cleared up, the night was beautiful and serene. A bright moon-light favored the march of the Prussians, in pursuit of the fugitives. The Prussian army being comparatively fresh, continued the pursuit with ardor. The French were driven from nine bivouacks at the point of the sword. During this disastrous retreat, Bonaparté was in imminent danger of being captured.

Having arrived at Genappe, a part of the French troops resolved to halt for the night; and barricaded the entrance into the town with broken waggons and gun-carriages. They had not, however, halted more than half-an-hour, when the advance of the Prussian cavalry was heard. The French opened a brisk fire of musketry and artillery; but, the Prussians, having brought up some pieces of cannon, stormed the place;

Escape of Bonaparte.

when a dreadful slaughter ensued. Upwards of eight hundred Frenchmen were killed in Genappe. Here Bonaparté escaped with extreme difficulty. So closely was he pursued, that his carriage fell into the hands of the victors. Such was his haste to escape that he left his hat, his sword, his state-mantle, and his perspective glass in the carriage; all of which fell into the hands of Marshal Blucher. His seal-ring, his jewels, and equipage, were secured by the Prussian soldiers. Mounted on horse-back, he left Genappe, and proceeded with his followers in the utmost haste to the frontiers. Before day-light, sixty pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the Prussians. About forty thousand men, the remains of the whole army, passed through Charleroi on the morning of the 19th. About five in the morning, Bonaparté, with about fifty followers, passed the Sambre, and for the first time during twenty four hours, took some refreshment. The Prussians found nine cannon and one hundred caissons at Charleroi abandoned by the enemy. It was here that the Emperor gave the direction of his remaining troops to Soult; when, getting into a carriage, he set out for Paris, taking the road by Rheims and Soissons.

Having crossed the Sambre, the French troops ventured to halt and to establish bivouacks in the meadows and orchards on its right-bank; but, the alarm being given that the Prussians were approaching, they instantly renewed their disorderly flight. Thus, by continual dispersion scarcely twenty thousand men remained, and a great part of these were without arms.

Marshal Grouchy, ignorant of the fate of the rest of

Field of Waterloo after the battle.

the army, still continued in the neighbourhood of Wavre. Being attacked by Thielman, he succeeded after a severe contest in compelling that general to abandon Wavre, and to fall back upon the rest of the Prussian army. Grouchy, continuing to advance, had arrived in front of Rozierne, and was about to march upon Brussels, when a French officer brought him intelligence of the loss of the battle of Waterloo. After much difficulty, he succeeded in escaping from Wavre to Namur. Here he was attacked by the Prussians, and compelled to abandon the place. *On the 20th he arrived at Dinant, with about twenty five thousand men, having lost ten thousand in various actions.*

The field of battle presented on the following morning a most melancholy scene. About forty thousand dead, all of whom had been stripped naked, and an immense number of wounded, whom as yet it had been impracticable to remove, lay crowded into a narrow space. Near twenty five thousand horses, dead, or wounded, lay mixed with their former riders, increasing the horrors of the scene. It presented on the morning of the 10th, a spectacle like a *vast army asleep*: but it was the sleep of death. According to the most accurate accounts, the total number burnt and buried on these fatal fields, amounted to forty thousand. During many days, several thousand carriages were employed, and many peasants from the surrounding countries, were engaged in burning or burying the dead. The task was so offensive that the Prussians were forced to compel them at the point of the bayonet. The country for several miles exhibited a group of hillocks, occasioned by large

Neighbourhood of Waterloo.

graves in which hundreds of the bodies of men and horses were promiscuously thrown. In one acre of ground, there were forty graves so filled. Notwithstanding the burning and burying of the dead, a pestilential gale continued for some weeks to be wasted over the surrounding country. The churches in the surrounding villages were filled with the dead and dying. On the morning after the battle, numbers of the wounded were observed raising themselves up, amongst the heaps of dead; some imploring water, and others, that the spectators would put an end to their miseries. Wounded soldiers were seen in every part of the country, for thirty miles round, wandering about in the extremes of agony and want. In cottages, and obscure retreats, many were found, whose bodies were become half putrid from the severity of their wounds. Thousands perished for want of medical assistance. In Brussels, alone, more than twenty three thousand wounded were assembled, where they were treated with assiduous kindness. The principal families, and even ladies of rank, administering personally to their necessities. Desolation had appropriated the neighbourhood of the field of battle. For five miles round, the country resembled a sandy waste, covered with heaps of slain. The corn fields had the appearance of stubble. The ground was ploughed by bullets and the feet of horses, and cut into trenches by the wheels of the artillery. At Hougomont every tree in the wood seemed blighted. Some were pierced with twenty cannon bullets. Broken swords, shattered helmets, torn epaulets and sabre sashes, bathed in blood, expressed the sanguinary character of the contest.

English account of the battle.

In addition to the loss of men, and their best horses, the French army lost upwards of three hundred pieces of cannon, five hundred caissons, all their baggage, and nearly all their arms !

Previously to tracing Napoleon to Paris, we shall subjoin the English and French accounts of this memorable battle.

ENGLISH ACCOUNT.

Waterloo, June 19th, 1815.

" My Lord,—Bonaparté having collected the first, second, third, fourth, and sixth corps of the French army, and the imperial guards, and nearly all the cavalry, on the Sambre, and between that river and the Meuse, between the 10th and the 14th of the month, advanced on the 15th, and attacked the Prussian posts at Thuin and Lobez, on the Sambre, at day light in the morning.

I did not hear of these events till the evening of the 15th, and I immediately ordered the troops to prepare to march ; and afterwards to march to their left, as soon as I had intelligence from other quarters to prove that the enemy's movement upon Charleroi was the real attack.

The enemy drove the Prussian posts from the Sambre on that day ; and General Ziethen, who commanded the corps which had been at Charleroi, retired upon Flentus ; and Marshal Prince Blucher concentrated the Prussian arms upon Sombres, holding the villages of St. Amand Ligny in front of his position.

The enemy continued his march along the road from Charleroi towards Brussels, and on the same evening,

English account of the battle.

the 15th, attacked a brigade of the army of the Netherlands, under the Prince de Weimar, posted at Frasne, and forced it back to the farm-house on the same road called Les Quatre Bras.

The Prince of Orange immediately reinforced the brigade with another of the same division, under General Perponcher, and in the morning early regained part of the ground which had been lost, so as to have the command of the communication leading from Nivelles and Brussels, with Marshal Blucher's position.

In the mean time, I had directed the whole army to march upon Les Quatre Bras, and the fifth division, under Lieutenant General Sir Thomas Picton, arrived at about half past two in the day, followed by the corps of troops under the Duke of Brunswick, and afterwards by the contingent of Nassau.

At this time the enemy commenced an attack upon Prince Blucher with his whole force, excepting the first and second corps; and a corps of cavalry under General Kellerman, with which he attacked our post at Les Quatres Bras.

The Prussian army maintained their position with their usual gallantry and perseverance, against a great disparity of numbers, as the fourth corps of their army, under General Bulow, had not joined, and I was not able to assist them as I wished, as I was attacked myself; and the troops, the cavalry in particular, which had a long distance to march, had not arrived.

We maintained our position also, and completely defeated and repulsed all the enemy's attempts to get possession of it. The enemy repeatedly attacked us

English account of the battle

with a large body of infantry and cavalry, supported by a numerous and powerful artillery; he made several charges with the cavalry upon our infantry, but all were repulsed in the steadiest manner. In this affair, his royal highness the Prince of Orange, the Duke of Brunswick, and Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton, and Major-general Sir James Kempt, and Sir Dennis Pack who were engaged from the commencement of the enemy's attack, highly distinguished themselves, as well as Lieutenant-general Charles Baron Alten, Major-general Sir C. Halket, Lieutenant General Cooke, and Major-generals Maitland and Byng, as they successively arrived. The troops of the fifth division, and those of the Brunswick corps, were long and severely engaged, and conducted themselves with the utmost gallantry. I must particularly mention the 28th, 42d, 79th, and 92d regiments, and the battalion of Hanoverians.

Our loss was great, as your lordship will perceive by the enclosed return; and I have particularly to regret his serene highness the Duke of Brunswick, who fell fighting gallantly, at the head of his troops.

Although Marshal Blucher had maintained his position at Sombref, he still found himself much weakened by the severity of the contest in which he had been engaged; and, as the fourth corps had not arrived, he determined to fall back, and concentrate his army at Wavre; and he marched in the night after the action was over.

This movement of the Marshal's rendered necessary a corresponding one on my part; and I retired from the

English account of the battle.

farm of Quatre Bras upon Genappe, and thence upon Waterloo the next morning, the 17th, at ten o'clock.

The enemy made no effort to pursue Marshal Blucher. On the contrary, a patrole which I sent to Sombref in the morning, found all quiet, and the enemy's videttes fell back as the patrole advanced. Neither did he attempt to molest our march to the rear, although made in the middle of the day, except by following, with a large body of cavalry brought from his right, the cavalry under the Earl of Uxbridge.

This gave Lord Uxbridge an opportunity of charging them with the 1st life-guards, upon their debouche from the village of Genappe, upon which occasion his lordship has declared himself to be well satisfied with that regiment.

The position which I took up in front of Waterloo, crossed the high roads from Charleroi, and Nivelles, and had its right thrown back to a ravine near Merke Braine, which was occupied ; and its left extended to a height above the hamlet Fer-la Haye, which was likewise occupied. In front of the right centre, and near the Nivelles road, we occupied the house and garden of Hougomont, which covered the return of that flank ; and, in front of the left centre, we occupied the farm of La Haye Sainte. By our left we communicated with Marshal Prince Blucher, at Wavre, through Ohain ; and the Marshal had promised me that in case we should be attacked he would support me with one or more corps, as might be necessary.

The enemy collected his army, with the exception of the third corps, which had been sent to observe Marshal

English account of the battle.

Blucher, on a range of heights in our front, in the course of the night of the 17th and yesterday morning ; and at about ten o'clock, he commeneed a furious attack upon our post at Hougmont. I had occupied that post with a detachment of General Byng's brigade of guards, which was in position in its rear ; and it was for some time under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Macdonald, and afterwards of Colonel Home ; and I am happy to add, that it was maintained throughout the day with the utmost gallantry by these brave troops, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of large bodies of the enemy to obtain possession of it.

This attack upon the right of our centre was accompanied by a very heavy cannonade upon our whole line, which was destined to support the repeated attacks of cavalry and infantry occasionally mixed, but sometimes separate, which were made upon it. In one of these, the enemy carried the farm-house of La Haye Sainte, as the detatchment of the light battalion of the legion which occupied it had expended all its ammunition, and the enemy occupied the only communication there was with them.

The enemy repeatedly charged our infantry with his cavalry, but these attacks were uniformly unsuccessful, and they afforded opportunities to our cavalry to charge, in one of which, Lord E. Somerset's brigade, consisting of the life-guards, royal horse-guards, and 1st dragoon-guards, highly distinguished themselves ; as did that of Major-general Sir W. Ponsonby, having taken many prisoners and an eagle.

These attacks were repeated, till about seven in the

English account of the battle.

evening, when the enemy made a desperate effort with the cavalry and infantry, supported by the fire of artillery, to force our left centre near the farm of La Haye Sainte, which after a severe contest was defeated; and having observed that the troops retired from this attack in great confusion, and that the march of General Bulow's corps by Frischermont upon Planchenoit and La Belle Alliance, had begun to take effect; and as I could perceive by the fire of his cannon, and as Marshal Prince Blucher had joined in person, with a corps of his army to the left of our line by Ohain, I determined to attack the enemy, and immediately advanced the whole line of infantry, supported by the cavalry and artillery. The attack succeeded in every point; the enemy was forced from his position on the heights, and fled in the utmost confusion, leaving behind him as far I could judge, 150 pieces of cannon, with their ammunition, which fell into our hands.

I continued the pursuit till long after dark, and then discontinued it only on account of the fatigue of our troops, who had been engaged during twelve hours, and because I found myself on the same road with Marshal Blucher, who assured me of his intention to follow the enemy throughout the night; he has sent me word this morning, that he had taken sixty pieces of cannon belonging to the imperial guard, and several carriages, baggage, &c. belonging to Bonaparté, in Genappe.

I propose to move, this morning, upon Nivelles, and not to discontinue my operations.

Your lordship will observe, that such a desperate action could not be fought, and such advantages could

English account of the battle

not be gained, without great loss; and, I am sorry to add, that ours has been immense. In Lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Picton, his majesty has sustained the loss of an officer who has frequently distinguished himself in his service; and he fell, gloriously leading his division to a charge with bayonets, by which one of the most serious attacks made by the enemy on our position was defeated.

The Earl of Uxbridge, after having successfully got through this arduous day, received a wound, by almost the last shot fired, which will I am afraid, deprive his majesty for some time of his services.

His royal highness the Prince of Orange distinguished himself by his gallantry and conduct till he received a wound from a musket-ball through the shoulder, which obliged him to quit the field.

It gives me the greatest satisfaction to assure your lordship, that the army never, upon any occasion, conducted itself better. The division of guards, under Lieutenant-general Cooke, who is severely wounded, Major-general Maitland, and Major-general Byng, set an example which was followed by all; and there is no officer, nor description of troops, that did not behave well.

I must, however, particularly mention for his royal highnesses approbation, Lieutenant-general Sir H. Clinton; Major-general Adam; Lieutenant-general Charles Baron Alten, severely wounded; Major-general Sir Colin Halket, severely wounded; Colonel Ompteda; Colonel Mitchell, commanding a brigade of the fourth division; Major-generals Sir James Kempt, and

English account of the battle.

Sir Dennis Pack; Major-general Lambert; Major-general Lord E. Somerset; Major-general Sir W. Ponsonby; Major-general Sir C. Grant, and Major-general Sir H. Vivian; Major-general Sir O. Vandeleur; Major-general Count Dornberg. I am also particularly indebted to General Lord Hill, for his assistance and conduct upon this, as upon all former occasions.

The artillery and engineer departments were conducted much to my satisfaction by Colonel Sir G. Wood, and Colonel Smyth; and I had every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the adjutant-general, Major-general Barnes, who was wounded, and of the quarter-master-general, Colonel Delancy, who was killed by a cannon-shot in the middle of the action. This officer is a serious loss to his majesty's service, and to me at this moment. I was likewise much indebted to the assistance of Lieutenant-colonel Lord Fitzroy Somerset, who was severely wounded, and of the officers composing my personal staff, who have suffered severely in this action. Lieutenant-colonel the honorable Sir Alexander Gordan, who has died of his wounds, was a most promising officer, and is a serious loss to his majesty's service.

General Kruse, of the Nassau service, likewise conducted himself much to my satisfaction, as did General Trip, commanding the heavy brigade of cavalry, and General Vanhope, commanding a brigade of infantry of the King of the Netherlands.

General Pozzo di Borgo; General Baron Vincent, General Muffling, and General Alava, were in the field during the action, and rendered me every assistance in

French account of the battle

their power. Baron Vincent is wounded, but I hope not severely; and General Pozzo di Borgo, received a contusion.

I should not do justice to my feelings, or to Marshal Blucher and the Prussian army, if I did not attribute the successful result of this arduous day to the cordial and timely assistance received from them.

The operation of General Bulow upon the enemy's flank, was a most decisive one; and, even if I had not found myself in a situation to make the attack which produced the final result, it would have forced the enemy to retire, if his attacks should have failed, and would have prevented him from taking of them, if they should unfortunately have succeeded.

I send, with this dispatch, two eagles, taken by the troops in this action, which Major Percy will have the honor of laying at the feet of his royal highness—I beg leave to recommend him to your lordship's protection.

I have the honour &c.

(Signed)

Wellington."

FRENCH ACCOUNT.

Battle of Ligny under Fleurus.—Paris, June 21.

On the morning of the 16th the army occupied the following position.—The left wing commanded by the Marshal Duke of Elchingen, and consisting of the first and second corps of infantry, and the second of cavalry, occupied the positions of Frasne. The right wing, commanded by Marshal Grouchy, and composed of the third and fourth corps of infantry, and the third corps of cavalry, occupied the heights in rear of Fleurus.

French account of the battle.

The Emperor's head-quarters were at Charleroi, where were the imperial guard and the sixth corps.

The left wing had orders to march upon Les Quatre Bras, and the right upon Sombref. The Emperor advanced to Fleurus with his reserve.

The columns of Marshal Grouchy being in march, perceived, after having passed Fleurus, the enemy's army, commanded by Field-Marshal Blucher, occupying with its left the heights of the mill of Bussy, the village of Sombref, and extending its cavalry a great way forward on the road to Namur; its right was at St. Amand, and occupied that large village in great force, having before it a ravine which formed its position.

The Emperor reconnoitred the strength and the positions of the enemy, and resolved to attack immediately. It became necessary to change front, the right in advance, and pivoting upon Fleurus.

General Vandamme marched upon St. Amand, General Girard upon Ligny and Marshal Grouchy upon Sombref. The fourth division of the second corps, commanded by General Girard, marched in reserve behind the corps of General Vandamme. The guard was drawn up on the heights of Fleurus, as well as the cuirassiers of General Milhaud.

At three in the afternoon these dispositions were finished. The division of General Lefol, forming part of the corps of General Vandamme was first engaged, and made itself master of St. Amand, whence it drove out the enemy at the point of the bayonet. It kept its ground during the whole of the engagement, at the burial-ground and steeple of St. Amand; but that vill-

French account of the battle

age, which is very extensive, was the theatre of various combats during the evening; the whole corps of General Vandamme was there engaged, and the enemy fought there in considerable force.

General Girard, placed as a reserve to the corps of General Vandamme, turned the village by its right, and fought there with his accustomed valor. The respective forces were supported on both sides by about fifty pieces of cannon each.

On the right, General Girard came into action with the fourth corps, at the village of Ligny, which was taken and re-taken several times.

Marshal Grouchy, on the extreme right, and General Pajol, fought at the village of Sombref. The enemy shewed from 80 to 90,000 men, and a great number of cannon.

At seven o'clock we were masters of all the villages situated on the bank of the ravine which covered the enemy's position; but he still occupied with all his masses the heights of the mill of Bussy.

The Emperor returned with his guard to the village of Ligny; General Girard directed General Pecheux to debouch with what remained of the reserve, all the troops having been engaged in that village.

Eight battalions of the guard debouched with fixed bayonets, and behind them four squadrons of the guards, the cuirassiers of General Delort, those of General Milhaud, and the grenadiers of the horse guards. The old guard attacked with the bayonet, the enemy's columns, which were on the heights of Bussy, and in an instant covered the field of battle with dead. The

French account of the battle.

squadron of the guard attacked and broke a square, and the cuirassiers repulsed the enemy in all directions. At half-past nine o'clock we had forty pieces of cannon, several carriages, colours, and prisoners, and the enemy sought safety in a precipitate retreat. At ten o'clock the battle was finished, and we found ourselves masters of the field-of-battle.

General Lutzow, a partisan, was taken prisoner. The prisoners assure us that Field-Marshal Blucher was wounded. The flower of the Prussian army was destroyed in this battle. Its loss could not be less than 15,000 men. Ours was 3,000 killed and wounded.

On the left, Marshal Ney had marched on *Les Quatre Bras* with a division which cut in pieces an English corps that was stationed there; but being attacked by the Prince of Orange, with 25,000 men, partly English, partly Hanoverians in the pay of England, he retired upon his position at *Frasné*. There a multiplicity of combats took place; the enemy obstinately endeavoured to force it, but in vain. The Duke of *Elchingen* waited for the first corps, which did not arrive till night; he confined himself to maintaining his position. In a square attacked by the 8th regiment of cuirassiers, the colours of the 69th regiment of English infantry fell into our hands. The Duke of *Brunswick* was killed. The Prince of Orange has been wounded. We are assured that the enemy had many persons and generals of note killed or wounded. We estimate the loss of the English at from 4 to 5,000 men. On our side it was very considerable; it amounts to 4,200 killed or wounded. The combat ended with the approach of night. Lord Well-

French account of the battle

ington then evacuated Les Quatre Bras, and proceeded to Genappe.

In the morning of the 17th, the Emperor repaired to Les Quatre Bras, whence he marched to attack the English army: he drove it to the entrance of the forest of Soignes with the left wing and the reserve. The right wing advanced by Sombref in pursuit of Field-marshal Blucher, who was going towards Wavre, where he appeared to wish to take a position.

At ten o'clock in the evening the English army occupied Mount St. Jean with its centre, and was in position before the forest of Soignes: it would have required three hours to attack it; we were therefore obliged to postpone it till the next day.

The head-quarters of the Emperor were established at the farm of Caillou, near Planchenoit. The rain fell in torrents. Thus, on the 16th, the left wing, the right, and the reserve, were equally engaged, at a distance of about two leagues.

Battle of Mount St. Jean.

At nine in the morning, the rain having somewhat abated, the first corps put itself in motion, and placed itself with the left on the road to Brussels, and opposite the village of Mount St. Jean, which appeared the centre of the enemy's position. The second corps leaned its right upon the road to Brussels, and its left upon a small wood, within cannon shot of the English army. The cuirassiers were in reserve behind, and the guards in reserve upon the heights. The sixth corps, with the cavalry of General D'Aumont, under the order of Count Lobau, was destined to proceed in the rear of our right

French account of the battle.

to oppose a Prussian corps, which appeared to have escaped Marshal Grouchy, and to intend to fall upon our right flank ; an intention which had been made known to us by our reports, and by the letter of a Prussian general, enclosing an order of battle, and which was taken by our light troops.

The troops were full of ardor. We estimated the force of the English army at 80,000 men. We supposed that the Prussian corps, which might be in line towards the right, might be 15,000 men. The enemy's force then was upwards of 90,000 men ; ours less numerous.

At noon all the preparations being terminated, Prince Jerome commanding a division of the second corps, and destined to form the extreme left of it, advanced upon the wood, of which the enemy occupied a part. The cannonade began. The enemy supported with thirty pieces of cannon the troops he had sent to keep the wood. We made also, on our side, dispositions of artillery. At one o'clock Prince Jerome was master of all the wood, and the whole English army fell back behind a curtain. Count d'Erlon then attacked the village of Mount St. Jean, and supported his attack with eighty pieces of cannon, which must have occasioned great loss to the English army. All our efforts were made on the opposite eminence. A brigade of the first division of Count d'Erlon then attacked the village of Mount St. Jean ; a second brigade was charged by a corps of English cavalry, which occasioned it much loss. At the same moment a division of English cavalry charged the battery of Count d'Erlon by its right, and disorganized several pieces ; but the cuirassiers of G -

French account of the battle

eneral Milhaud charged that division, three regiments of which were broken and cut up.

It was three in the afternoon. The Emperor made the guard advance to place it in the plain upon the ground which the first corps had occupied at the outset of the battle; this corps being ready in advance. The Prussian division, whose movement had been foreseen, then engaged with the light troops of Count Lobau, spreading its fire upon our whole right flank. It was expedient, before undertaking any thing elsewhere, to wait for the event of this attack. Hence all the means in reserve were ready to succour Count Lobau, and overwhelm the Prussian corps when it should have advanced.

This done, the Emperor had the design of leading an attack upon the village of Mount St. Jean, from which we expected decisive success; but, by a movement of impatience, so frequent in our military annals, and which has often been so fatal to us, the cavalry of reserve having perceived a retrograde movement made by the English, to shelter themselves from our batteries, from which they had suffered so much, crossed the heights of Mount St. Jean, and charged the infantry. This movement, which, made in proper time, and supported by the reserves, must have decided the day, made in an isolated manner, and before the affair on the right was terminated, became fatal.

Having no means of countermanding it, the enemy shewing many masses of cavalry and infantry, and our two divisions of cuirassiers being engaged, all our cavalry ran at the same moment to support their com-

French account of the battle.

rades. There, for three hours, numerous charges were made, which enabled us to penetrate several squares, and to take six standards of the light infantry, an advantage out of proportion with the loss which our cavalry sustained by the grape-shot and musket firing. It was impossible to dispose of our reserves of infantry until we had repulsed the flank attack of the Prussian corps. This attack always prolonged itself perpendicularly upon our right flank. The Emperor sent thither General Duhesme, with the young-guard, and several batteries of reserve. The enemy was kept in check, repulsed, and fell back—he had exhausted his forces, and we had nothing more to fear. This was the moment that indicated an attack upon the centre of the enemy. As the cuirassiers had suffered by the grape-shot, we sent four battalions of the middle guard to protect them, to keep the position, and, if possible, disengage and draw back into the plain a part of our cavalry.

Two other battalions were sent to keep themselves *en potence* upon the extreme left of the division which had manœuvred upon our flanks, in order, not to have any uneasiness on that side—the rest was disposed in reserve, part to occupy the eminence in rear of Mount St. Jean, and part upon the ridge in rear of the field-of-battle, which formed our position of retreat.

In this state of affairs, the battle was gained; we occupied all the positions which the enemy had possessed at the outset of the battle. Our cavalry having been too soon and ill employed, we could no longer hope for decisive success; but Marshal Grouchy having

French account of the battle

learned the movement of the Prussian corps, marched upon the rear of it, ensured us a signal success on the next day. After eight hours fire and charges of infantry and cavalry, all the army saw with joy the victory gained, and the field of battle in our power.

At half-after eight o'clock the four battalions of the middle guard, who had been sent to the ridge on the other side of Mount St. Jean, to support the cuirassiers, being greatly annoyed by the grape-shot, endeavoured to carry the batteries with the bayonet. At the end of the day, a charge directed against their flank, by several English squadrons put them in disorder. The fugitives re-crossed the ravine. Several regiments which were near at hand, seeing some troops belonging to the guard in confusion, believed it was the old guard, and, in consequence, fled in disorder. Cries of *All is lost, the guard is driven back*, were heard on every side. The soldiers even pretend that, on many points, ill disposed persons cried out, *Sauve qui peut*. However this may be, a complete panic at once spread itself throughout the whole field-of-battle, and the troops threw themselves, in the greatest disorder, on the line of communication; soldiers, cannoneers, caissons, all pressed to this point; the old guard, which was in reserve, was infected, and was itself hurried along.

In an instant the whole army was nothing but a ^{mass} of confusion; all the soldiers, of all arms, were mixed pêle-mêle, and it was utterly impossible to form a single corps. The enemy, who perceived this astonishing confusion, immediately attacked with their cavalry, and increased the disorder; and such was the confusion,

French account of the battle.

owing to night coming on, that it was impossible to rally the troops, and point out to them their error. Thus terminated the battle; a day of false manœuvres was rectified, the greatest success ensued for the next day, yet all was lost by a moment of panic terror. Even the body-guard drawn up by the side of the Emperor, was disorganized and overthrown by an overwhelming force, and there was then nothing else to be done but to follow the torrent. The parks of reserve, all the baggage which had not repassed the Sambre, in short, every thing that was on the field-of-battle, remained in the power of the enemy. It was impossible to wait for the troops on our right; every one knows what the bravest army in the world is, when thus mixed and thrown into confusion, and when its organization no longer exists.

The Emperor crossed the Sambre at Charleroi, at five o'clock in the morning of the 19th. Philippeville and Avesnes have been given as the points of re-union. Prince Jerome, General Moraud, and other generals, have there already rallied a part of the army. Marshal Grouchy, with the corps on the right, is moving on the lower Sambre.

The loss of the enemy must have been very great, if we may judge from the number of standards we have taken from them, and from the retrograde movements which they have made;—ours cannot be calculated till after the troops shall have been collected. Previous to the confusion which took place, we had already experienced a very considerable loss, particularly in our cavalry, so fatally, though so bravely engaged. Notwithstanding these losses, this brave cavalry constantly

French account of the battle.

Kept the position it had taken from the English, and only abandoned it when the tumult and disorder of the field-of-battle forced it. In the midst of the night, and the obstacles which encumbered their route, it could not preserve its organization.

The artillery was, as usual, covered with glory. The carriages belonging to the head-quarters remained in their ordinary position: no retrograde movement being judged necessary. In the course of the night they fell into the enemy's hands.

Such was the result of the battle of Mount St. Jean, so glorious for the French armies, and yet so fatal.

The victory of Waterloo is mainly attributable to two capital blunders committed by the French; the one by the Emperor himself, and the other by Marshal Grouchy. The error of the Emperor is thus stated by Marshal Ney, in his justificatory letter to the Duke of Otranto. "On the 16th, I was ordered to attack the English in their position at Les Quatre Bras. We advanced towards the enemy with an enthusiasm difficult to be described. Nothing could resist our impetuosity. The battle became general, and victory was no longer doubtful, when at the moment that I intended to bring up the first corps of infantry, which had been left by me in reserve at Frasne, I learned that the Emperor had disposed of it without acquainting me of the circumstance, as well as of the division of Girard, of the second corps, that he might direct them upon St. Amand, and to strengthen his left wing, which was warmly engaged with the Prussians. The shock which this intelligence gave me confounded me. Having now under my com-

French account of the battle.

mand only three divisions, instead of the eight upon which I calculated, I was obliged to renounce the hopes of victory ; and, in spite of all my efforts, notwithstanding the intrepidity and devotion of my troops, I could do no more than maintain myself in my position till the close of the day. About nine o'clock, the first corps was returned to me by the Emperor, to whom it had been of no service. Thus 25 or 30,000 men were absolutely paralyzed, and were idly paraded, during the whole of the battle, from the right to the left, and the left to the right, without firing a shot."

The conduct of Marshal Grouchy, so fatal to the French cause, is thus stated by the Emperor. " Marshal Grouchy, with thirty-four thousand men, and one hundred and eight pieces of cannon, discovered the secret which appeared *undiscoverable*, of not being on the field-of-battle at Mount St. Jean, on the 18th, nor before Wavres. The conduct of Marshal Grouchy was as much out of the reach of all human foresight, as that of an earthquake which would have swallowed up the whole of his troops."

On the 22nd of June, a message was sent by the Prince regent to both houses of parliament recommending them " to enable his royal highness to grant such additional povation to field-marshall the Duke of Wellington, as shall afford a further proof of the opinion entertained by parliament of the Duke of Wellington's transcendant services, and of the gratitude and munificence of the British nation." Parliament unanimously concurred in a vote for adding the sum of 200,000l. to

Abdication of Bonaparte

former grants, by which its sense of his extraordinary merits had been demonstrated

The thanks of both houses were afterwards voted to the Duke of Wellington, and to various officers of distinction in his army, as well as to Marshal Prince Blucher, the Prussian army, and the allied troops

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CHAPTER XVIII

On his return to Paris, the Emperor finding he could no longer rely on the French nation for support, reluctantly abdicated the throne in favor of his son, who was proclaimed, Napoleon the Second. Aware that he could no longer remain in France with safety, he repaired to Rochefort, with the design of embarking for America, having learned however, that the English cruisers were on the alert, he came to the resolution of delivering himself up to England, and on the 16th of July, 1815, he was received with his suite on board the Bellerophon, commanded by Captain Maitland. On entering the ship, he said to the Captain, "Sir, I come to claim the protection of your prince and your laws." He soon after wrote the following letter to the Prince-regent

Bonaparte to the Prince Regent.

Translation.

“ Royal Highness.

“ Exposed to the factions which divide my country, and to the enmity of the great powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career, and I come, like Themistocles, to throw myself on the hospitality of the British nation. I place myself under the safeguard of their laws, and claim the protection of your royal highness, the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies.

“ Napoleon.”

While off the coast, Napoleon excited the most intense curiosity. Thousands, flocking to Plymouth, daily put off in boats to catch a glimpse of him. Boards with chalk inscriptions were continually exhibited, informing the spectators of his various movements; such as, “Just gone to dinner.”—“Just come up from dinner.” “Busy writing,” &c. It was curious to witness the effect of his occasional appearance. The attempts to press near—the suspension of oars—the pointing of hands,—and himself sitting in stately captivity, produced a scene equally varied and interesting. Sometimes he was seen listening to one of his generals, sometimes talking with the ladies, and sometimes walking up and down with a child. With two of his Generals, he was constantly employed in writing from the morning (after breakfast,) till four o’clock, when he walked upon deck till half past five; occasionally shewing himself to the people in the numerous boats which surrounded the ship. On one occasion he was seen during the greater part of the morning at the windows of the

Bonaparte on board the Northumberland.

cabin, conversing with Bertrand, and occasionally looking with an opera glass at the crowds by which he was surrounded.

On the 29th of July, the weather being remarkably fine, several thousand persons surrounded the Bellerophon, and were fully gratified about six o'clock in the evening, the Emperor having stood near twenty minutes on the gangway. Several transports having arrived with wounded prisoners from Waterloo, Bonaparté earnestly surveyed them from the stern gallery of the Bellerophon, during the time they were passing that ship. Captain Maitland, and all the British officers remained uncovered whenever he was on deck.

On being removed from the Bellerophon to the Northumberland, with a view to his conveyance to St. Helena, Bonaparté protested against the measure in the strongest terms. He said it was an act, totally inconsistent with the laws of nations, and unworthy of any civilized or magnanimous people. Having, however, delivered his solemn protest, he submitted without any appearance of discontent. He took leave of his friends, and of Captain Maitland, with marks of sensibility, but, without dejection. His cabin on board the Northumberland, was fitted up with great elegance. His bed was particularly handsome, and the linen upon it very fine. His toilet was of silver. Among other articles upon it, was a magnificent snuff-box, upon which was embossed in gold, an eagle, with a crown, flying from Elba to the coast of France, admirably executed.

Protest of Bonaparte.

Previous to the moment of separation, Bonaparte gave some of his officers a certificate to the following effect.

“Circumstances prevent my retaining you any longer near me.” *You have served me with zeal. I have always been satisfied with you. Your conduct on this last occasion deserves my praise, and confirms me in what I had reason to expect from you.*—On board the Northumberland, 7th. August 1815.

Napoleon.”

THE PROTEST OF BONAPARTE.

I solemnly protest before God and Man, against the violation of my sacred rights, in disposing by force of my person and my liberty. I came voluntarily on board the Bellerophon; I am not a prisoner, I am a denizen of England.—As soon as I was on board the Bellerophon, I was under the protection of the British people. If their Government, in giving orders to the Captain of the Bellerophon to receive me and my suite, only meant to entrap me, it has forfeited its honour and tarnished its flag.—If this act is put in execution, it will be in vain that the English boast of their fidelity (loyauté,) their laws, and their liberty. British faith will be obscured by the hospitality of the Bellerophon.—I appeal to history, whether an enemy, after having for twenty years waged war against the English people, comes deliberately in his misfortunes to seek an asylum under the protection of their laws, can give a more convincing proof of his esteem and confidence? But how have the English answered such confidence and magnanimity? They pretended to extend a friendly hand

Bonaparte sent to St. Helena.

to this enemy, and when he relied on their good faith, they sacrificed him.

Napoleon"

"*On board the Bellerophon at Sea, Aug. 4th. 1815.*

It was some considerable time before the final destination of Bonaparté was fixed; in consequence, either of delay in the correspondence respecting him, with the allied Sovereigns, or some difficulty as to confining him out of the British territory. Mr. Capel Lost, a constitutional lawyer, and distinguished as a lover of general literature, started a doubt in the Morning Chronicle, whether, Bonaparté, having surrendered himself to the British, was not actually within Admiralty jurisdiction; and if so, whether he might not claim the treatment of a British subject, and legally protest against being sent to a foreign prison? He farther contended, that, no such measure could be resorted to without the sanction of an act of Parliament; to which the Chronicle of the same day, added, that, the opinions and conduct of the continental Allied Princes, were no rule of action to a limited monarchy like ours. The Allied Princes, however, thought different from Mr. Capel Lost; and Napoleon's future destiny was identified with St. Helena.

The rumours that Bonaparté had, on the eve of his departure for St. Helena, provided himself and suite with a variety of costly articles of furniture, were totally unfounded; for, the exiled captive, on the contrary, sailed from England with very scanty accommodations both for his voyage and subsequent necessities. The only property of any value which he had reserved on quitting France, consisted of the imperial plate, and,

Equipments for the voyage.

an admirable library. So entirely unprovided was the Ex-Emperor for a long voyage, that, when his linen was sent ashore to be washed and made up, he was under the necessity of borrowing from among his suite a few shirts for intermediate use. He had scarcely sailed, however, when the attention of Government was directed to the supply of his future wants. The Prince Regent determined by an express order, that Bonaparté should be furnished with every possible gratification which taste could supply. An order was, accordingly, issued by Earl Bathurst, to one of the most tasteful and ingenious artists of the metropolis. This order included every species of furniture, linen, glass-ware, clothes, music, and musical instruments. The order was to be completed within six weeks, and by the unremitting exertions of four hundred men, was finished within that period; and a great part of it packed up for conveyance to Plymouth, where a transport was in waiting to receive it. The whole was executed in British materials; the chairs and tables were in general formed of the finest British oak, inlaid with polished brass; the breakfast service was of Wedgwood's most beautiful pale blue composition, with a white cameo device in relief, modelled by Flaxman, in the best style; the dinner service was white and gold, the centre of each plate, dish &c. containing an elegantly executed landscape of British scenery; the glass (of the finest quality) was plainly but elegantly cut, with a fancy border of stars, supported by fluted pillars; the table cloths, napkins &c. were of the finest damask, the evening service, white and gold; the imperial plate rendered it

Voyage and arrival of Bonaparte.

unnecessary to furnish him with a supply of our own manufacture. A piano-forte, and some articles of dress, were provided for Madame Bertrand.

For the purpose of providing a suitable residence for Napoleon, at St. Helena, the architect for the Ordnance Department at Woolwich, was instructed to prepare a timber frame work for a building to be erected on the island, in the cottage style; consisting of 24 rooms, the general size of each about 25 feet, by 18. The front of the house is in the Grecian style. It is about 120 feet in length, containing fourteen windows, and a fine open corridore. The depth of the building is about 100 feet, with a back corridore, almost making the whole structure square.

The first intelligence of the arrival of Bonaparte at St. Helena, was brought by Captain Denman, of the Redpole, who brought dispatches from Sir George Cockburn, dated the 22d October. Sir G. Cockburn, and his squadron, arrived off that island, on the 13th of the same month, after a boisterous passage, all safe and well. The Ex-Emperor made himself exceedingly comfortable during the voyage.

Copy of a letter from a gentleman on board the Northumberland, dated St. Helena, October 19.

"The Redpole is just getting under weigh for England; and I send you by her the following particulars. We arrived here on the 16th, after a very long and tedious passage, and landed Napoleon on the 18th. He is now living in the country at a gentleman's house, of the name of Belcome, until Longwood is ready for him. His followers are all tired, and heartily regret, I believe,

Description of St. Helena.

their having accompanied him. Madame Bertrand, who talks pretty good English, exclaimed to me to-day, that the Island was a complete desert, "the birth place of the demon *Ennui*." She wants to go back to Europe already, to educate her children. I dined four times with Bonaparté, who talked very little at table, and generally addressed himself to the Admiral. He took very little exercise, about two hours during the day, after dinner. He dispatched his dinner in half an hour. General Bertrand, and Las Casas, are his greatest favorites; the others he seldom held any conversation with. He played at cards every night, either at loo or whist; in the forenoon at chess. He retired early to bed, and rose very late. His spirits were generally bad, and they are not mended since he came here. The Island is very closely watched; signals between all the ports in the Island and the ships; guard boats and brigs cruise round; so that unless he can fly, it will be impossible for him to escape. No one is allowed to be out of the ship after sunset, and every ship is ready to slip at the first notice."

St. Helena is situated in fifteen degrees fifty-five minutes south latitude, and fifty degrees forty-four minutes west longitude, about twelve hundred miles from the coast of Africa, and two thousand four hundred from that of South America. Its greatest length is about ten miles, three furlongs; its breadth, six miles two furlongs; and its circumference, twenty-eight miles.

As seen from the ocean, it has the general appearance of a mass of rugged and sterile rocks. Upon a nearer approach, the view is more cheering; the mountains

Bonaparte's residence at the Briars

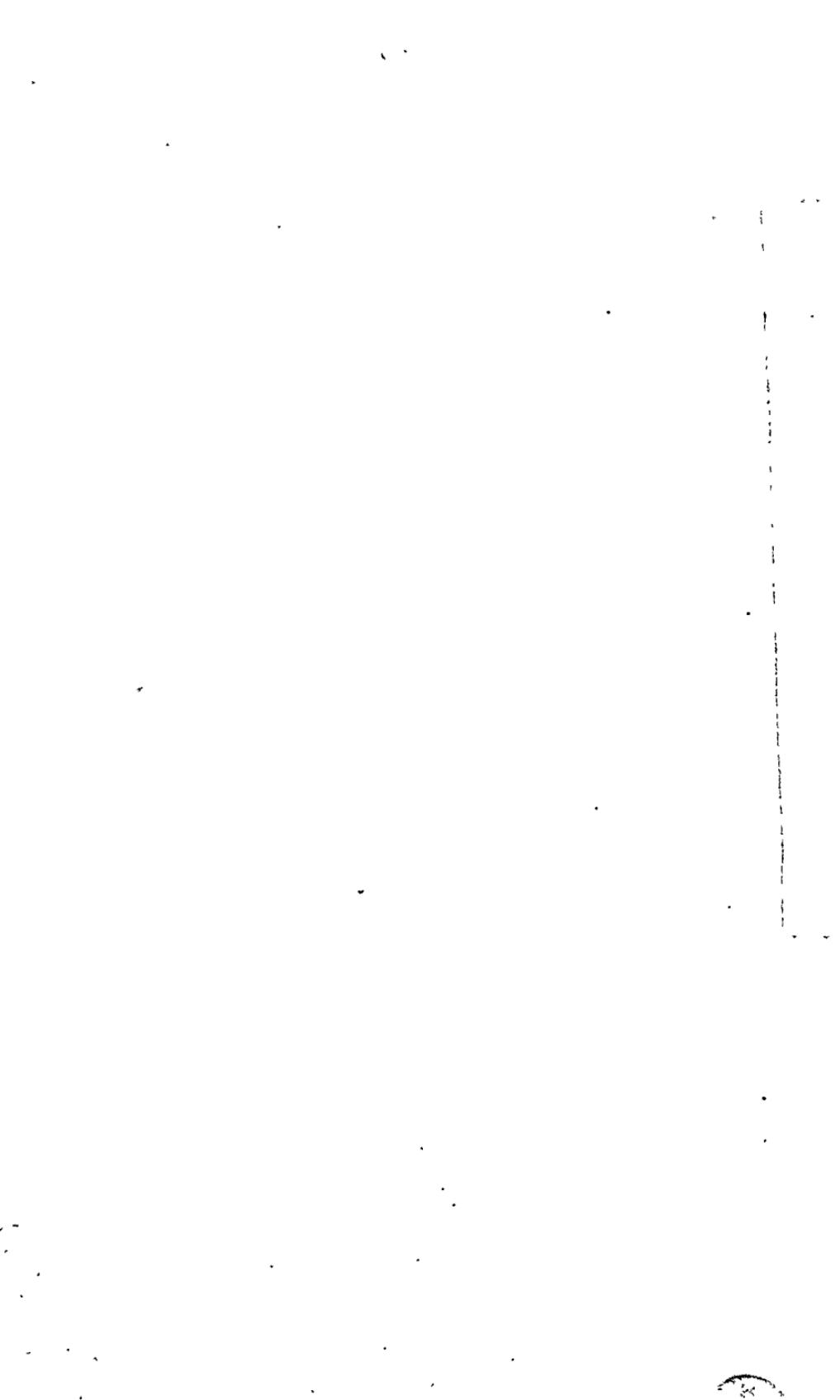
being clothed with verdure to their summits. The anchorage is safe and commodious. The whole country indicates a volcanic origin ; though with only one slight exception, the inhabitants have experienced no convulsion of that description since the discovery of the island.

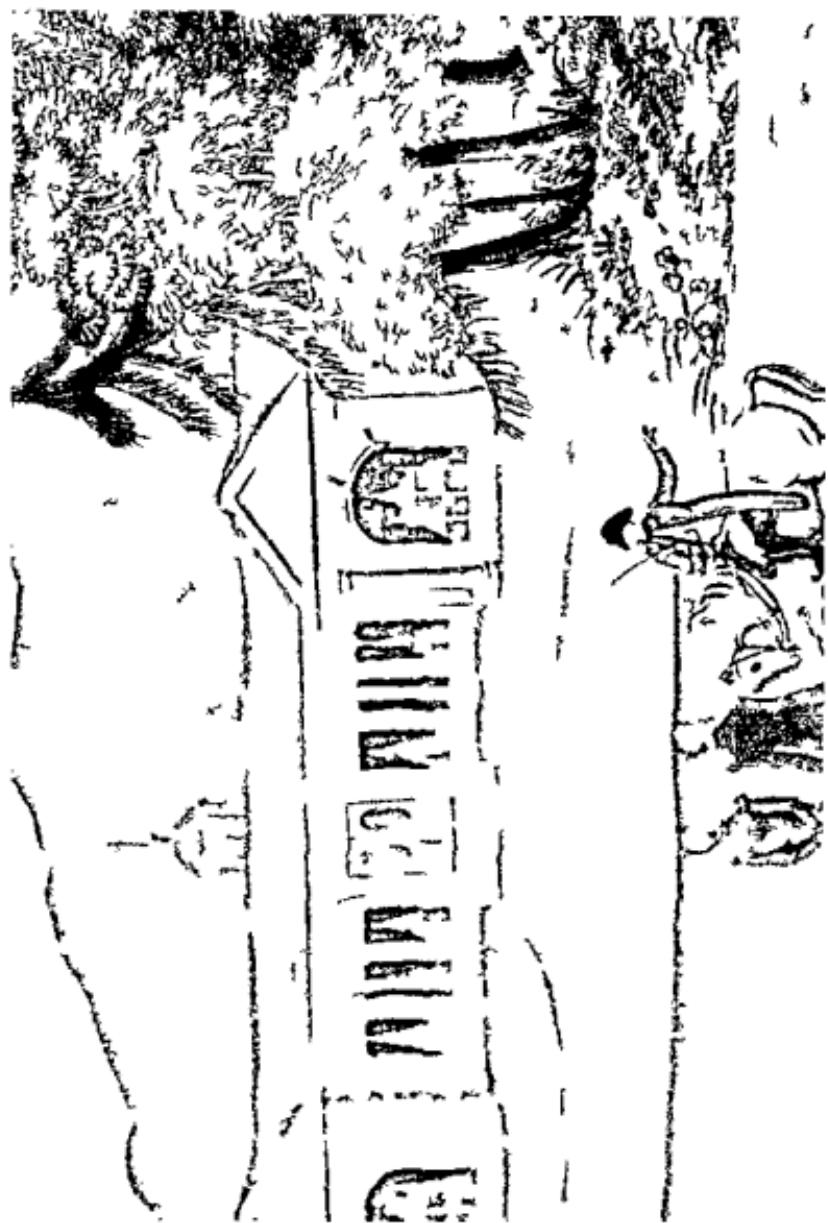
On the evening of the 17th, Bonaparté proceeded privately to the house of the lieutenant-governor, which had been fixed on for his temporary residence. The next morning at an early hour, he was accompanied by Sir George Cockburn, to Longwood, the place intended for his fixed habitation.

Returning from Longwood, Bonaparté paid a visit to Mr. Balcombe, a respectable merchant, residing in a lovely spot called *the Briars*. In compliance with Mr. Balcombe's invitation, he relinquished his design of returning to the house of the lieutenant-governor, and avoided the gaze of the assembled colonists who were impatient to see him.

A Gothic structure, comprising one apartment on the ground-floor, and two small rooms above, struck the fancy of Napoleon, and he determined to take up his abode there, until Longwood should be ready for his reception. The ground-floor was occupied by the Ex-Emperor, whilst the upper story was divided between the Count de la Casas, his son, and the valet in waiting.

Napoleon was no sooner established at the *Briars*, than an officer was appointed to reside there, who was made responsible for the security of the exile. Limits were assigned for his exercise, surrounded by a cordon of sentinels ; and, in case he chose to exceed those





limits, an officer was appointed to accompany him. No person was allowed to visit him without a passport from the governor, or the admiral. These arrangements being highly offensive to Napoleon, and his remonstrances proving ineffectual, he resolved upon his removal to Longwood, to confine himself to the grounds surrounding his own house.

By the *Bombay*, which was the bearer of letters up to the 13th Nov. information was brought, that Bonaparté still remained at the *Briars*; from one of which letters we present the reader with the following extract. "The ci-devant Emperor spends most of his time in various amusements with the daughters of the host, who were considered interesting young women.—In the evening the party play at cards for *sugar plums*. Meanwhile a strict eye is kept upon the General by the English, which he considers and declares to be intrusive. None of the officers stay with him at his recluse; but whether this arises from the choice of Bonaparté, from order of the Governor, or because there are no means of accommodation, we do not learn. The Officers occasionally make a party to the *Briars*, to pay their respects to the General; but not so frequently as they would have done, had not the roads thither been almost impassable. The house at Longwood for Bonaparté's reception was not nearly completed. In its construction or fitting up, the *security* of the *owner* was to be materially considered; besides it is not expected that he would be allowed to take possession of Longwood House under the regulations intended; he was to be governed, until the works and batteries were finished, which are quickly

Bonaparte's opinion of Wellington

raising for the defence of the island. When the whole is completed, St Helena will be secured from any sudden attack that might be projected for the liberation of the prisoner, and as for the means of stealth, it is not likely they can succeed, since every caution has been given by Government on this head. The Officers of the Bombay experienced great disappointment in not having an opportunity of seeing the man who had cut out so much business for all Europe."

A Gentleman, returned from St. Helena, and who was frequently with Bonaparte, described him, as at that time in the highest spirits. When the Gentleman was coming away, and mentioned his destination to another part of the world, the Ex-Emperor exclaimed, "What, Sir, and leave such a fine island as this? He talked about India, and shewed the most complete and detailed knowledge of its affairs. He knew all the petty princes, their situations, opposite interests, the names of the principal bankers, merchants &c, in our settlements. He was as much *au fait* on the subject as if he had passed his life there. Being asked his opinion of Lord Wellington, he said, "He is a good General, but slow. I should put three hundred thousand men in motion, while he was thinking of it." He rides at a prodigious rate, and sets off full gallop, the instant he is mounted, leaving the cavalcade who attend him at a good distance."

One of the most interesting anecdotes which has been related of Bonaparte, during his residence at St. Helena, is the following. Riding through a deep ravine, clothed with exuberant vegetation, the residence of a

His interview with a farmer.

farmer having caught his eye, he determined to alight, for the purpose of gaining information respecting its inhabitants. The master of the house, a plain and simple peasant, met him at the door, and invited him to walk in; when Napoleon, attended by la Casas, accepted the invitation, and seating himself in a chair, enquired whether his host were married?

"Yes, and please you, Sir Emperor," replied the farmer; fearful of offending by an omission of the imperial title.

"What number of children have you?"

"Six."

"How many acres of land do you hold?"

"About one hundred."

"Are they all capable of cultivation?"

"No, not half of them."

"What profit do you derive from your land?"

"Not much; though it has certainly increased since you, Mr. Emperor, came to this island."

"How can you explain that?"

"Why, Sir Emperor, you must know that we do not grow corn, and our vegetables require a quick sale. Now we have often had to wait for the arrival of a fleet, and if it did not come in when we expected it, our articles were all liable to spoil; but since you General, came to reside among us, we have a ready market for every thing."

"Where are your wife and children?"

"Dang it, I fancy they be scared, and please you; for they all seem to have run away."

His residence at Longwood

"Call them in, that I may see them. Have you any good water?"

"I have, Sir, and wine too; such as can be procured from the Cape."

The farmer now went in quest of his wife, and after some persuasion, led her forward to his illustrious guest; whom the good woman contemplated with reverence and astonishment. At the instigation of her husband she produced a bottle of cape wine, and had the honour of sitting down with the ex-devant Emperor.

When Napoleon, La Casas, the farmer, and his wife, had each taken a glass of wine, the visitors withdrew; a few subsequent calls on the part of Napoleon, rendered the inhabitants of this rural mansion quite at their ease in receiving his visits.

Another statement informs us, "there is very little communication with Bonaparté at present; and as he has desired that no stranger may visit Longwood, unless he be admissible upon the simple pass of General Bertrand, without a pass from the Governor, (to which the latter will not accede,) he now sees no one but the persons who comprise his suite. Some of his attendants are about to be sent away; and this no doubt will excite fresh irritation.

Bonaparté's principal occupation, at present, is the compilation of his campaigns; at which he is said to labour very assiduously. He is also engaged in drawing up a long and violent protest against the conduct of the British government, and their allies, toward him; and he has already caused a long letter of remonstrance to be addressed to the governor.

Remarks on the English newspapers.

He peremptorily refuses to see, or even to recognise the Austrian, French, and Russian commissioners, who would have been equally useful in the characters with which they are invested, had they continued to reside at their respective courts.

With respect to the English language, of which on his arrival at St. Helena he knew nothing, he soon became so much master of it, as to be able to read the newspapers with ease, from which he was accustomed to observe that he derived no inconsiderable amusement. "But," added he, "they are occasionally inconsistent, and sometimes abusive. In one paper I am called a liar, in another a tyrant, in a third a monster, and in one of them, which I really did not expect, I am destroyed as a coward; but it turned out, after all, that the writer did not accuse me of avoiding danger in the field of battle, or flying from an enemy, or fearing to look at the menaces of fate and fortune; it did not charge me with wanting presence of mind in the hurry of battle, and in the suspense of conflicting armies. No such thing; I wanted courage it seems, because I did not coolly take a dose of poison, or throw myself into the sea, or blow out my brains. The editor most certainly misunderstands me; I have at least too much courage for that."

In the most important philosophy, that of accommodating the mind to the variation of circumstances, Bonaparté excelled in an eminent degree. Mr. Warden, having observed to him, that considering the active life he had led, it did not appear that he took sufficient exercise to preserve himself in a right state of health;

Excursions and reading of Bonaparte.

he replied ; My rides, indeed, are too confined ; but the being accompanied by an officer is so very disagreeable to me, that I must be content to suffer the consequences of abridging them. However, I feel no inconvenience from the want of exercise. Man can accustom himself to privations. At one period of my life, I was many hours on horseback every day, for six years ; and I was once eighteen months without passing from the house."

" You are acquainted," said he to Mr. Warden, " with the Island of St. Helena, and must be sensible that a sentinel placed on either of these hills, can command the sight of me, from the moment I quit this house till I return to it. If an officer or a soldier placed on that height will not content your governor, why not place ten, twenty, a troop of dragoons ? Let them never lose sight of me, only keep an officer from my side !"

The restraint which Bonaparté imposed upon his excursions, gradually impaired his health ; but his activity of mind continued unabated. The transactions in which he had acted so distinguished a part on the great theatre of the world, continued deeply to interest him. His greatest satisfaction consisted in receiving periodical works, and public journals, which he read with avidity. Hope still hovered around him : and it pointed principally to the state of England ; where he anticipated a change which would finally be advantageous to him. " The government of England," said he, has received a mortal wound ; the heart is struck ; I count its pulse, and know when it must stop. The expiring struggle will be terrible."

Though Napoleon had nothing more to hope from

Conversation of Bonaparte and Mr. Warden

France, his conversation most frequently turned upon that country. "I have always loved France, said he, " and was well acquainted with it. I never deceived myself about France; but I have been mistaking respecting the sentiments of foreign countries. The princes forgot what I had left them, and recollect only that of which they had been deprived. I ought to have foreseen this."

A report of the ensuing conversation between Napoleon, and Mr. Warden, cannot fail to interest the reader, inasmuch as it throws considerable light upon the motives and conduct of the Ex-Emperor. Mr. Warden thus introduces the subject. "On entering the room, I observed the back of a sofa turned towards me; and, on advancing, I saw Napoleon lying at full length on it, with his left arm hanging over the upper part. The glare of light was excluded by a Venetian blind, and before him there was a table covered with books. I could distinguish among them some fine bound volumes on the French revolution. The heat of the day had occasioned him to dismantle himself of coat and waist-coat. The moment his eye met mine, he started up, and exclaimed, in English, in a tone of good-humoured vivacity, 'Ah, Warden how do you do? I bowed in return; when he stretched out his hand, saying, 'I have got a fever.' I immediately applied my hand to the wrist, and observing, both from the regularity of the pulsation, and the jocular expression of his countenance, that he was exercising a little of his pleasantry, I expressed my wish that his health might always remain the same. He then gave me a familiar tap on the cheek,

Bonaparte's remarks on English newspapers.

with the back of his hand, and desired me to go into middle of the room, as he had something to say to I now congratulated him on the preservation of health, and complimented him, at the same time, on progress he appeared to have made in the English language. 'I certainly enjoy,' he said, 'a very good state of health, which I attribute to a rigorous observation of regimen. My appetite is such, that I feel as if I could eat at any time of the day: but, I am regular in my meals; and always leave off eating with an appetite. Besides, I never as you know, drink strong wines. With respect to the English language,' he continued, 'I have been very diligent: I now read your newspapers with ease; and must own, that they afford me no considerable amusement. They are occasionally inconsistent and sometimes abusive. Your papers are influenced by party-principles; what one praises, the other will abuse; and so *vice versa*. They who live in the metropolis where they are published, can judge of passing events and transactions for themselves; but persons living at a distance from the capital, and particularly foreigners, must be at a loss to determine upon the real state of things, and the characters of public men, from the perusal of your journals.'

Napoleon appearing, as it were, to be speaking out, and to be in a humour to deliver opinions instead of confining himself to ask questions, I was determined to speak out too; and I had no doubt that I should lead him into an interesting conversation, or induce him to wish me a good day. I accordingly replied, 'I really think that you must possess more patience than my

Remarks on English newspapers.

countrymen are disposed to allow you, if you really wade through all the columns that have been filled on your subject. You cannot, general, suppose for a moment, that the extraordinary events which have taken place, and of which you have formed such a prominent part, would not be considered and observed upon with great freedom by a thinking people like the English, and who have the privilege—and they even possess it, of speaking and writing what they think.' I was proceeding in full swing, and in a very patriotic way, when he thus interrupted me. ' This calling of names, and these scolding epithets, only serve to amuse me; but there are observations in your papers which produce far different sensations. You have,' he continued, ' a writer whom I greatly admire; I believe he is of your country, a Scotchman—Macpherson, the author of *Ossian*. There is also a person of the name of Belsham; on what subjects has he written?' I replied, that ' I believed he had written an account of the reign of our excellent sovereign.'—' Yes,' he said, ' your laws permit you to write of kings, of ministers, and of one another.'—' Yes,' I replied, ' such is the privilege of Englishmen; and possessing the infirmities of human nature, they may sometimes abuse it. Misconception, party-spirit, and perhaps, factious minds, may, at times, tend to propagate and support erroneous and even violent opinions; but the love of justice and of truth form the genuine character of an Englishman.'—' Nevertheless' he observed, ' you appear to handle my character rather roughly; and more so since I have been in your power.'—' To that opinion, general, I answered rather quickly,

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Mr. Arden's reply to Bonaparte

‘ I must beg leave to address a direct negative. You have not always had the leisure to examine English publications which you enjoy at present; but I do assure you, that from the time of your becoming first consul of France to the moment when you set your foot on the deck of the Bellerophon, the English press has never ceased to fulminate its displeasure against you; and this, without exception, for the parties who differed in every thing besides, expressed but one and the same opinion of you. This I presume, you must have known at the time, though, the vast projects that have occupied your mind may have prevented your memory from retaining a detail of our literary offences: your official papers, however, marked their perfect acquaintance with the hostility of our journals, and returned their paragraphic missiles in every direction. You were rather angry with Old England, when you ordered the Moniteur to call us a ‘ nation of shop-keepers.’ A great commercial nation we certainly are, and may we ever remain so: for it is that commerce which has proved a fountain of resources, whose failure would have prevented even the native and irresistible bravery of Englishmen from making the late immortal additions to our glory. But we are also a most noble-minded, magnanimous, and generous people, and were never known to insult a conquered enemy: nay, how often has it happened, that both our sailors and our soldiers have risked their lives to save a fallen foe. Even when you had thrown away one of the brightest diadems in Europe, and had accepted a slender sceptre in Elba, you were instantly treated with comparative mildness

Mr. Arden's reply to Bonparte.

by the more prevailing public opinions in England. And now that you are as you choose to term it in our power, a generous feeling of a generous nature is known to be excited. Yes, Sir, there are numbers who would have rejoiced to hear that you had but the ground on the field-of-battle, who are now disposed to wish you every comfort that can be safely allowed in your present situation. If the Northumberland had overtaken you in a French man-of-war, endeavouring to make your meditated escape to America, every officer, and every sailor and soldier would have been bravely engaged in the attempt to take, burn, sink or destroy the ship that bore you; yet, as you have readily acknowledged, you were treated by them, during the whole of the voyage, with every gentle, manly, and polite attention. And, if I may venture to speak of myself, I shall beg leave to add, that I was bred up in the hatred of you: nay, that no proofs of holy writ were more strongly imprinted in my mind, than the truth of the then universally prevailing opinions concerning you; nevertheless, I am ready to shew you every personal courtesy, to be thankful for the civilities I have received from you, and to offer you such services as I am permitted, by the benevolence of the government which I serve, and may be consistent with those regulations which its political wisdom has thought necessary to provide for the safeguard and ultimate security of your person.' I was resolved to speak my sentiments with freedom, and you may now think, my good friend, that I did not balk my resolution. I could not, indeed, forbear to defend the generous temper of Englishmen, when it received such

Mr Ardeu's reply to Bonaparte

an attack. My candid sentiments, and unreserved language, appeared, however, to meet my auditor's approbation ; and he asked me, to my great surprise, if I remembered the history of Captain Wright. I answered—‘ Perfectly well ; and it is a prevailing opinion in England, that you ordered him to be murdered in the Temple.’ With the utmost rapidity of speech he replied—‘ For what object ? Of all men he was the person whom I should have most desired to live. Whence could I have procured so valuable an evidence as he would have proved on the trial of the conspirators in and about Paris. The heads of it he had landed on the French coast. My curiosity was at this moment such as to be betrayed in my looks. ‘ Listen’ continued Napoleon, ‘ and you shall hear. The English brig of war, commanded by Captain Wright, was employed by your government in landing traitors and spies on the west coast of France. Seventy of the number had actually reached Paris ; and so mysterious were their proceedings, so veiled in impenetrable concealment, that although General Ryal, of the police, gave me this information, the name or place of their resort could not be discovered. I received daily assurances that my life would be attempted, and though I did not give entire credit to them, I took every precaution for my preservation. The brig was afterwards taken near L’Orient, with Captain Wright, its commander, who was carried before the prefect of the department of Morbeau, at Vannes. General Julian, then prefect, had accompanied me in the expedition to Egypt, and recognised Captain Wright on the first view of him. Intelligence of this

Particulars respecting Captain Wright.

circumstance was instantly transmitted to Paris, and instructions were expeditiously returned to interrogate the crew separately, and transfer their testimonies to the minister of police. The purport of their examination was at first very unsatisfactory ; but at length, on the examination of one of the crew, some light was thrown on the subject. He stated that the brig had landed several Frenchmen, and among them he particularly remembered one, a very merry fellow who was called Pichegru. Thus a clue was found, that led to the discovery of a plot which, had it succeeded, would have thrown the French nation a second time into a state of revolution. Captain Wright was accordingly conveyed to Paris, and confined in the Temple ; there to remain till it was found convenient to bring the formidable accessaries of this treasonable design to trial. The law of France would have subjected Wright to the punishment of death ; but he was of minor consideration. My grand object was to secure the principals, and I considered the English captain's evidence of the utmost consequence towards completing my object.'—He again and again, most solemnly asserted, that Captain Wright died in the Temple by his own hand, as described in the *Moniteur*, and at a much earlier period than has generally been believed.—At the same time he asserted that his assertions were founded on documents which he had since examined.'

In the course of the same conversation, Napoleon adverted to the death of the Duke d'Enghien, which he undertook to justify. ' I was justified in my own mind,' said he, and I repeat the declaration which I have al-

Bonaparte's opinion of Sir Robert Wilson

ready made, that I would have ordered the execution of Louis XVIII. At the same time I solemnly affirm, that no message or letter from the duke reached me after sentence of death had been passed upon him.' Referring to the charges brought against him by Sir Robert Wilson, which he declared to be absurd, as well as false, he adverted to the interest which Sir Robert Wilson had taken in the escape of Lavalette, upon which he grounded the following opinion. 'I desire you also,' said he, 'to give your particular attention to my opinion, which is a decided one, that this act of Sir Robert Wilson, for the preservation of Lavalette, is the commencement of his recantation of what he has written against me.'

From a letter, dated St Helena, April 28th 1821, it appears that "in the latter end of January, Bonaparte transmitted a complaint through Count Montholon, of a want of money, arising from a cessation of his usual remittances. To prevent in future this disagreeable circumstance, without imposing upon himself the necessity of accepting those supplies which were offered him through the commercial house of B. and H. without his knowing who gave the command to this house for the advance, or from whom it received the money, he ordered it to be proposed to the governor to advance him monthly £500, which the Duke of Leuchtenberg would repay to the English government through Mr. Baring. He desired at the same time, that instead of the two priests living with him, and instead of Dr. Antonachi, Counts Bertrand and Montholon, he should be supplied with other society." With regard to a priest, he desired a man of knowledge and experience

First intelligence of the death of Bonaparte.

a learned divine, capable of discussing religious subjects, able to answer his questions, to resolve his doubts, and to instruct him in the sacred scriptures—a man of between forty and fifty years of age, and a well-grounded scholar. ‘Although,’ said he, I feel my strength decaying, I am not yet so prostrate as to take refuge in spiritual remedies. But when this happens, I must have another spiritual guide besides the two who at present attend me, one of whom has not yet shaken off the dust of the schools. Voltaire himself, in the view of death, threw himself into the arms of religion; and who knows but that I may acquire a taste for the subject, and become pious?’ The forementioned money arrangement was undertaken by the Governor. Some time afterwards, Bonaparté said that the priest who was to be sent to him must be one who adhered to the Concordat of 1802, such as M. Duvoisier, late bishop of Nantes.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE first intelligence of the death of Napoleon which reached the British public, was received through the Chairman of the East India Company; who, interrupting Mr. Lowndes, said, “he thought it right to com-

First news of Bonaparte's death.

municate to the court, the intelligence he had that moment received—that Bonaparté was dead. In a few minutes afterwards he added, that he had made the former communication to the Court in consequence of a private letter which he had received; but that he had since received a letter from Sir Hudson Low officially announcing this event. The letter which was then read by the clerk, stated, for the information of the Board of Directors, that General Bonaparté had expired at ten minutes before six o'clock on the evening of the 5th of May, in consequence of an indisposition which had confined him to his apartment since the 17th of March last.

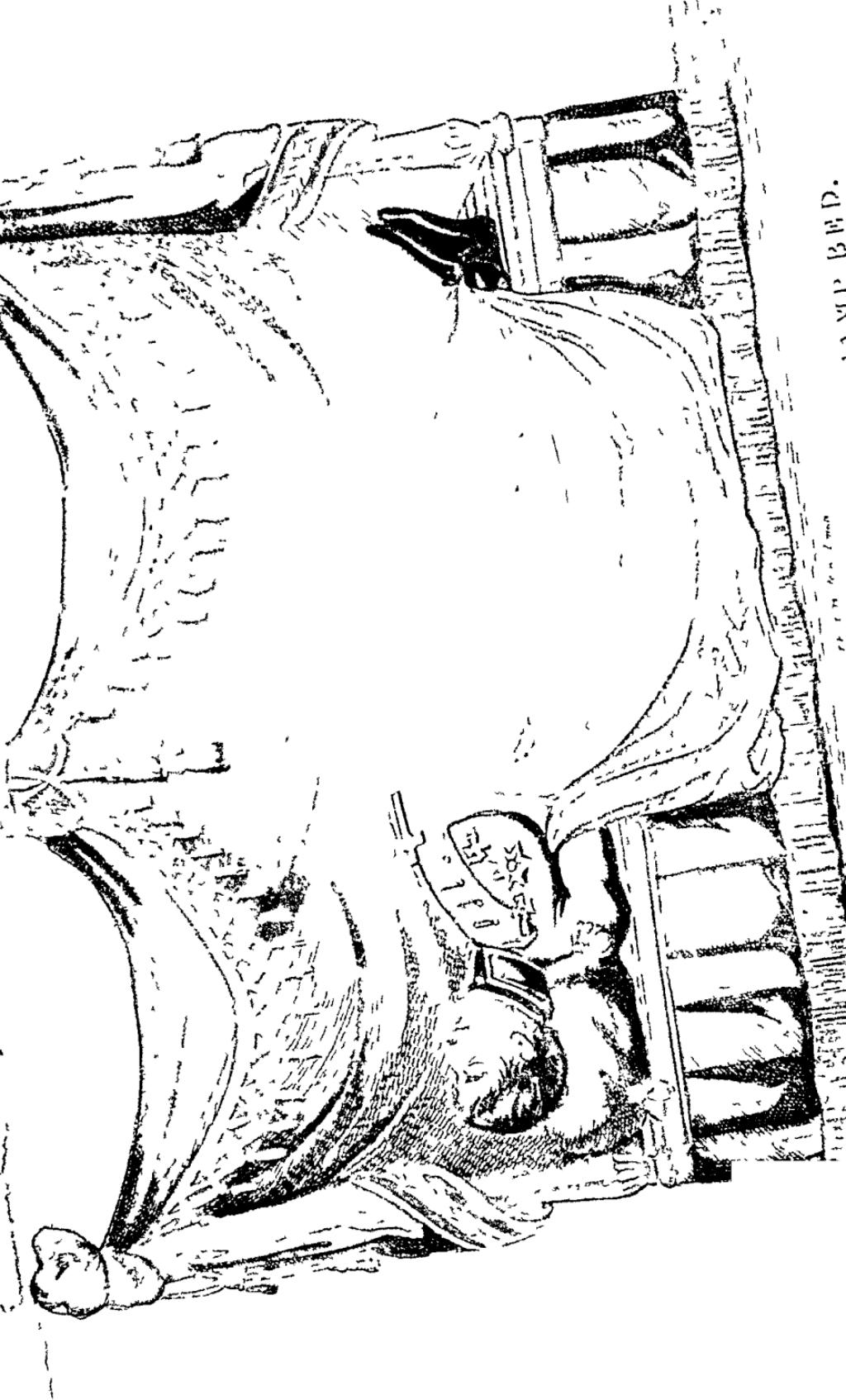
Despatches containing the details of this event, were also brought by Captain Hendry, of the Rosario, sloop of war, accompanied by Captain Crokat of the 20th regiment. Soon after the following official bulletin was put into circulation.

St Helena, May 7th.

“ Bonaparté died on Saturday the 5th, at 6 p. m. after an illness of six weeks. The body has been opened, and the disease ascertained to be *a cancer on the stomach, with a great extent of ulceration.*”

He has been lying in state since yesterday afternoon, the Admiral, Governor, and heads of departments having first seen the body.”

During the first four weeks of his illness it did not assume any very dangerous appearance, though he appeared himself to be conscious that it would terminate fatally.—During the last fortnight it was evident to all the medical attendants that he could not recover. It is



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Another account of Bonaparte's death.

said that he gave directions about his affairs, and his papers, till five or six hours before he died, having retained his senses till that period. He said he wished to be opened, in order that his son might be informed of the nature of his disease. The body was opened by his own surgeon. We believe that he left a will, which, with his other papers, have been, or will of course be, transmitted to this country.

ANOTHER ACCOUNT.

“The despatches brought by Captain CROKAT, announcing the death of Bonaparte, are dated St. Helena, May 7.—That event took place on the 5th May, at ten minutes before six in the afternoon. The illness of the Ex-Emperor lasted, in the whole, six weeks; and its effects on his frame, are described by an officer who had frequent opportunities of seeing him during that period, were so powerful as nearly to reduce him to a skeleton, and to obliterate all traces of his former features. During the latter part of his illness he frequently conversed with his medical attendants on its nature, of which he seemed to be perfectly aware. He declared *that it was hereditary*, and that his father had died of the same disease. On examination after death, the stomach was found in a state of extreme ulceration, so that it appeared in some places perforated in large openings. His medical attendants gave it as their decided opinion, in which the physician who was called in coincided, that the disease was incurable, and that the climate had no effect in producing it.”

Upon the death of this extraordinary individual in a state of captivity, *The Morning Chronicle* observes,

Further particulars of Bonaparte's death.

Friday next will be the day. He had for some time past fixed on a particular spot, which is also, I understand, mentioned in his will, a short distance from Longwood, for his burial place, in the event of its being determined that his remains should be deposited at St. Helena. It is close by a small spring of water, of which he always drank, and some time since he used frequently to breakfast under the two willow trees which bend over the bubbling water. It is rather difficult of access, but pioneers are making a way, and as there is no want of hands, it will soon be ready."

" Bonaparté was perfectly aware of the nature of his complaint, and frequently described it to those about him, but was never able to convince his surgeons that he had a just notion of it. In the early stage of the disease, which is a long time ago, he commenced a statement of it, with his different sensations in different periods, and continued it up to within a few days of his death. It is intended for his son."

" It is a singular coincidence, that the *Waterloo* East Indiaman, laden with necessaries for his establishment at Longwood, arrived only two days before his death, just in time to witness his final setting."

It appears that the likeness of Bonaparté was taken the day after his death by Captain Marryat, of his Majesty's ship *Beaver*, and that he made several copies some of which have been brought to England.

FURTHER PARTICULARS.

" Bonaparté died after an illness of six weeks. He was only considered seriously so for the last fortnight, when he sent for Dr. Anott, of the 20th regiment. Al-

